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NEW TIMES

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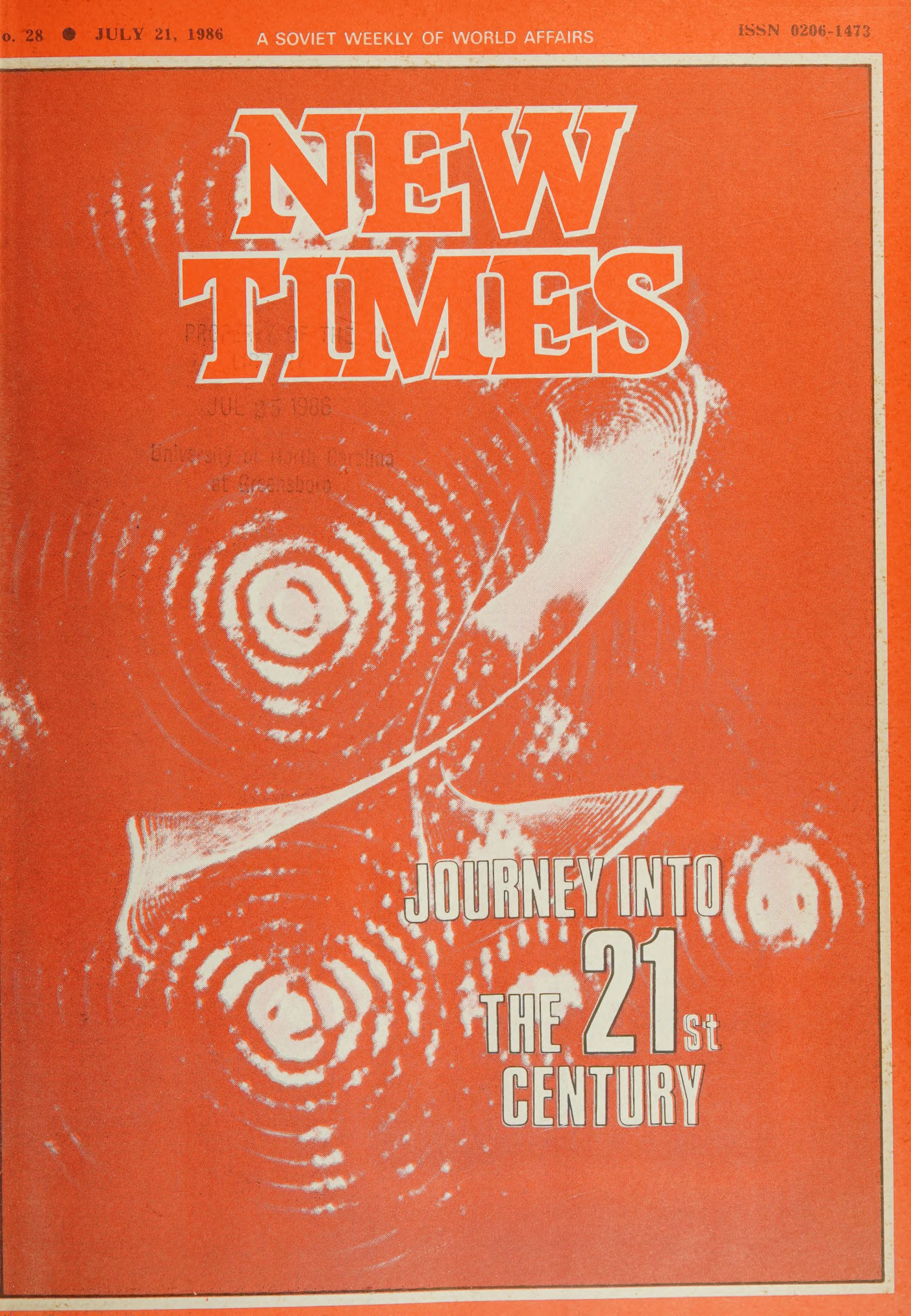
University of North Carolina
at Greensboro



JOURNEY INTO THE 21st CENTURY

April 10, 1922. Opening of the Genoa conference.

1986-INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

'In view of the termination of hostilities on the battlefronts, the field headquarters of the Revolutionary Military Council of the republic is discontinuing publication of daily communiqués.'

This official announcement, which appeared on December 15, 1920, in Pravda, marked the end of the civil war. The Republic of Soviets, having defeated the internal counterrevolution and driven the foreign interventionist hordes out of the country, asserted its right to independent existence in a hostile encirclement.

But the Bolsheviks were not prone to cherish illusions. "We never imagined that with the fighting over and the advent of peace, the capitalist wolf would lie down with the socialist lamb," Lenin said at that time. "No, we did not." The hard-won victory had to be consolidated, it had to be embodied in a durable framework of political decisions. For this a new, socialist foreign policy was needed. A foreign policy that rooted in Lenin's thesis that socialism could be victorious in one country.

Pondering the destiny of Soviet Russia, which found itself in a vice of political and economic isolation, Lenin charted a course founded on the objective laws of social development. "There is a force more powerful than the wishes, the will and the decisions of any of the governments or classes that are hostile to us," he wrote. "That force is world general economic relations."

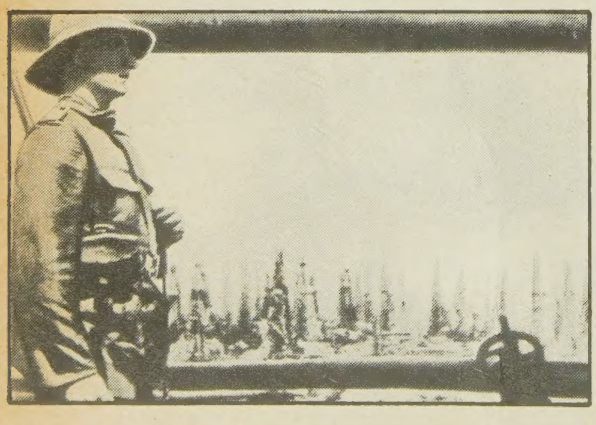
Lenin's prediction became the reality. In the beginning of January 1922 the imperialist powers invited the Soviet Government to an international conference, thereby officially recognizing the existence of "two systems of ownership"—the socialist and the capitalist. The conference, which opened on April 10 in Genoa, was the first interstate conference which revolutionary Russia attended as a full-fledged participant.

On behalf of the government, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Georghy Chicherin, declared in Genoa that Soviet Russia stood for the "parallel existence of the old and the rising new social systems." The Soviet proposal to reduce armaments rang out over the whole world.

The imperialist wolves, however, came to the conference without even bringing their sheep's clothing with them. They would not even hear of equal cooperation. Their purpose was obvious: to turn the Soviet land into a semi-colony of imperialism.

The Russian delegation at the conference, strictly adhering to the mandate given it by the Party and state leadership, gave these designs a resolute rebuff. And although the conference ended without results, the capitalist leaders were given a good lesson in Genoa: neither by force nor by diplomatic pressure can the determination of the peoples to uphold their freedom be shaken.

Baku. 1918. How arrogant the pose of this British soldier! How confident were the politicians and generals who sent him here! Yet deliverance of the land from the interventionists was not far off.



For earlier instalments of this brief history of the struggle against war and the fight for peace see issues Nos. 1, 4, 6, 12, 14, 17, 21, 24.

NEEDED: GOOD WILL

When the U.N. proclaimed 1986 International Year of Peace, everyone seemed to be in full agreement. Now half the year is gone and it is in place to draw some conclusions.

The Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole have contributed much to making this year the starting point for movement towards disarmament. Recall the plan we put forward in January for the total elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of the century; the call issued by the 27th Congress of the CPSU for a universal system of security; our unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions in effect for nearly a year now; the proposals for the elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe and for the prohibition and abolition of chemical weapons; the proposals not to withdraw from the ABM Treaty for at least another 15 years and for limiting SDI projects to laboratory research and, finally, the Warsaw Treaty countries' programme for far-reaching cuts in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Regrettably, it appears that on the other side of the ocean it is far simpler to pay lip-service to peace than to curb the appetites of the U.S. military-political elite. Witness the barbarous bombing of Libya, the support of subversive bands in various parts of the world and of apartheid in South Africa, the 13 underground explosions in Nevada, the evasion under far-fetched pretexts of consideration of Soviet initiatives, and, lastly, the reneging on earlier agreements. The other NATO countries too, yielding to Washington pressure, have assumed a share of responsibility for the aggravation of the situation.

One need not be a social psychologist to see the steady -- though perhaps not as rapid as one might wish -- growth of anti-war sentiment, of the forces seeking to prevent the worsening of the situation and to promote detente. A relevant instance is the Goodwill Games held on the initiative of Soviet and American sports organizations, business quarters and public. Welcoming the participants in Moscow, Mikhail Gorbachev called the Games a good omen and expressed the hope that they would be a notable event not only in sports, but in improving the international climate. Speaking of the Soviet Union's contribution to the International Year of Peace, he said "we await a serious reply from those vested with responsibility who should at long last heed the voice of protest against the arms race resounding ever more loudly on all continents." Heed that voice and display good will in the fight for man's right to life and mankind's right to existence.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

It would be quite absurd today to maintain that the two parts of Europe should live back-to-back, so to say. With each passing day the growing need for the cooperation of all European countries in many spheres—economy, science, ecology—becomes ever more pressing. Not only in order to raise the living standards on the continent as a whole but, what is more important, in order that Europe should not be wiped off the face of the earth in a senseless nuclear war. Not suicidal confrontation but constructive peace is what we need.

José L. FERNANDEZ
Madrid, Spain

I believe the time has come for the U.S. to follow the example of the U.S.S.R. and help to give effect to the "spirit of Geneva." The peace programme your country consistently carries out has been highly appraised by progressives everywhere, who have not forgotten the decisive contribution Soviet people made to saving the world from fascism.

Trinh Quoc Sinh
Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam

It is a great pity that the U.S. responds to all the Soviet initiatives by more nuclear explosions in Nevada and armed aggression against Libya and Nicaragua. I support the Soviet government and the Soviet people and I earnestly urge them to continue to stand firm on the positions of peace.

Rene Luis PERETTI
Cordoba, Argentina

Being young I am by no means indifferent to the kind of future that awaits me. The continued nuclear testing by the U.S. is disgusting. The Reagan Administration must abandon its insensate "star wars" plan before the rushing train of the arms race gets completely out of control.

Miroslaw ROY
Boguszow-Gorce, Poland

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ · TEMPS NOUVEAUX · NOWE CZASY · TIEMPOS NUEVOS · NEUE ZEIT · nová doba · TEMPI NUOVI · TEMPOS NOVOS

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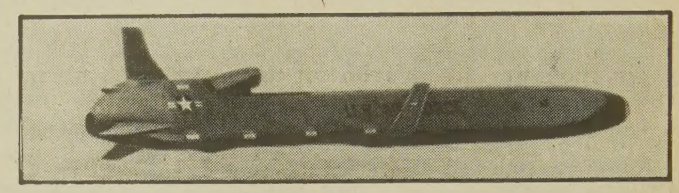
Cover: Laser drawings.

U.S. TO SCRAP SALT-2



So the American Administration has decided. Yet until recently even the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff have insisted on the observance of the treaty. Why then such a dangerous new about-turn in U.S. policy? What are Washington's motives and objectives in defying the spirit of the Geneva summit, the interests of the Soviet and American peoples, and worldwide hopes that war will be prevented?

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MOSCOW '86 GOODWILL GAMES

LINK WE MUST PRESERVE

The world is too small, too full of weapons and in too much danger for us to be able to afford to sever such international contacts as sports competitions, says Ted Turner, President of the American TBS television company, an initiator of the Goodwill Games.

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APARTHEID ON THE SKIDS

History has already passed its verdict on apartheid, and carrying it out is only a matter of time. Much will depend on the far-reaching processes now under way in South African society, which are examined by Vladimir Iordansky, a well-known Soviet authority on Africa.

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Turning Point

On the sidewalk in front of the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw stands a stone tablet with the inscription: "Zytna Street was here." This is a reminder of the grim ordeal of war. Five years ago when the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party met in this Palace a streamer across the session hall bore the words: "Socialism, like independence, must be defended."

Now the Tenth Congress of the Party again brought us to the same hall. This time the streamer there carried this message: "By leading the people, the Party serves the people." The words of these slogans testify to the far-reaching changes that have taken place in the life of Poland in the period between the Ninth and Tenth PUWP congresses.

The Tenth Congress just over summed up the preceding complex period in the life of the Party and the country, analyzed its lessons and defined the tasks ahead in the upbuilding of the people's republic. It adopted the Party's first programme, which lays down the guideposts for the next stage in the building of socialism in Poland and confirms the dedication of its foreign policy to peace.

The programme was drafted in the complex political situation that followed the suppression of attempts to carry out a counterrevolutionary coup. Clearly, the drafting in this crucial period of the Party's most important document is of fundamental significance for the future development of Polish society. The PUWP programme, which has its source in the theory of Marxism-Leninism, in everything valuable in the experience of the Polish working-class movement and the experience of the fraternal parties, in particular the CPSU, confirms Poland's unswerving fidelity to socialism.

The early eighties were perhaps the most trying period in the history of postwar Poland. The country was faced with a deep-going economic crisis and efforts by forces of imperialism to cancel out the revolutionary gains of the Polish people and to wrest the people's republic away from the community of fraternal countries.

"The Polish crisis, as has been noted here," Mikhail Gorbachev said in his address to the Congress, "was not the protest of the working class against socialism. It was primarily an expression of disagreement with the distortions of socialism in practice which was painful for the working class to witness. The enemies of socialist Poland both within the country and outside it were able to make use of this discontent to further their own ends."

The Party realized that public consciousness had to be based on sober assessment of the situation and awareness of the dangers threatening the country. Five years ago, at the Ninth Congress of the PUWP, it was proposed that the Party programme be drawn up as a strategy of social development. Today this programme has become a vital necessity. In this respect an exceedingly powerful creative impulse was given the Polish Communists by the new edition of the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the deliberations and decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. The Leninist approach to the problems of economic and social development manifested at the 27th CPSU Congress was an inspiring example to follow in the drafting of PUWP programme.

The congress demonstrated that today the PUWP is able to rally Polish society for concerted action. Local Party organizations are displaying ever more vigorous activity and have again assumed the role of leaders of the work collectives. Inner Party discipline has become stronger. The Party's influence on non-Party people is growing, as is evidenced by the influx of new members, especially from among the working youth.

"While voicing satisfaction with what has been accomplished we are always conscious of our shortcomings," Wojciech Jaruzelski said at the congress. "The Party is fully aware of the difficulties and obstacles ahead, but it is strong enough not only to overcome them, but also to forge farther ahead."

Today, when it is a matter of working for Poland's future and restoring its position in the world, the principal levers of development are scientific and technological progress and efficiency of production as the main precondition of the success of the reform being carried out in the country.

It has been estimated that the economy needs an additional 600,000 workers. The problem is tackled as a rule by rational use of manpower and drawing more people into production. Delegates pointed out that in effect Poland makes irrational use of its manpower resources, work is poorly organized and labour discipline low.

Delegate Waclaw Matoga from the Lenin Iron and Steel Works in Cracow said on this score:

"This congress marks the beginning of effort to give labour its true value. For today no one in our country needs to fear that he might lose his job, even those who work poorly or do not work at all, but simply 'go to work.' I believe it is time properly to appraise manpower resources at each enterprise and to evaluate fairly the quality and concrete results of labour."

* * *

The losses caused Poland by economic sanctions in the past four years amounted to more than $15 billion. Judging by everything, the enemies of the Polish People's Republic intend to increase this figure further. At the same time Poland's national interests are inseparably linked with a broad international dialogue, economic and other cooperation, and détente.

How does Poland propose to strengthen its position in the international division of labour? First of all,

by deepening highly effective specialization of the Polish economy, promoting all-round economic, scientific and technological cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. At present over 57 per cent of Poland's trade is with the other socialist countries (nearly 53 per cent with CMEA countries). Accelerated promotion of Polish exports, for instance, to the U.S.S.R., particularly export of specialized machines and other industrial equipment, should provide the preconditions for more balanced trade and for increasing exports to other countries, including those of the West. On this basis and with the participation of Soviet science and technology, branches of cardinal importance for the modernization of the Polish economy—electronics, flexible production systems, automation, and robotics — will be developed further. These branches are also leading producers for export.

Speakers at the congress pointed out that cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and people's Poland, which already has a history of more than 40 years, is the foundation of Poland's economy. The need was emphasized to raise economic cooperation between the two countries to a qualitatively higher level, to be bolder and more persistent in introducing new promising forms of this cooperation, and to accelerate the process of socialist economic integration in every way. It was emphasized that the promotion of direct production ties and the deepening of cooperation and specialization are a priority area in bilateral joint effort.

Economics and foreign policy are closely interlinked. During the congress I interviewed Marian Orzechowski, member of the Political Bureau of the PUWP and Poland's Foreign Minister.

"I am often asked why we make our economy dependent on ideology," he said. "Yes, Polish foreign policy has its ideology. Actually its 'ideologization' is a matter of recognizing that Poland has very definite allies, does not indulge in wishful thinking, but is guided only by the interests of its own people. We want to cooperate without renouncing our principles."

* * *

The results of the congress and its decisions will be evaluated both in Poland and beyond its bounds and studied by both friends and enemies. But it can already be said that the Polish people have traversed a difficult road, a road of hard-won victories, overcoming a great many obstacles. Now the country has set itself new, ambitious tasks. The decisions of the congress will find embodiment in practical actions. Of this people's Poland is confident.

B. KOZLOV
Our Special Correspondent
Warsaw-Moscow

The Outlook in Geneva

The fifth round of the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on nuclear and space armaments has been completed. Below the progress of the talks is discussed in an interview to New Times by the head of the Soviet delegation, VICTOR KARPOV, chief of the arms limitation and disarmament division of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Now that the latest round of the talks is over, how would you comment on its results?

It will be remembered that the main purpose of the talks, as was confirmed at the last summit meeting, is to prevent an arms race in outer space and to terminate it on earth, to ensure the limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments, and to strengthen military-strategic stability.

It is to these ends that the Soviet side has concentrated its efforts. It has done everything in its power to impart to the talks the added impetus which was agreed upon during Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with President Ronald Reagan.

As regards the U.S. position, the American delegation again failed to advance any new ideas at the round just over. More, one could discern in its very approach to the talks the intention to mark time. This was evident also in the character of the discussions that took place, in the reaction of the U.S. to our proposals, and in many other things that go to make up the atmosphere of the talks.

As a result, this round too ended without any practical agreements being reached. True, the American side voiced readiness, as the U.S. President himself has done, to study the Soviet proposals and to reply to them. The question which remains open is what that reply will be. One would like to hope that it will be positive and that the next round will produce concrete results. It is now up to the American side to say the decisive word.

What concretely are the Soviet Union's latest proposals in the sphere of space and strategic armaments? Some in the West maintain that they are proclaimed from the rostrum but not laid on the negotiating table.

The most radical solution of space problems would unquestionably be prohibition of space strike weapons, as the Soviet Union has urged from the very beginning of the talks. The obstacle, however, is the position of the United States, which places the emphasis on the realization of the Strategic Defence Initiative programme. Faced with undisguised unwillingness to prevent once and for all the spread of weaponry to outer space, we proposed a search for partial solutions which could help to prevent an arms race in outer space.

What specifically do we have in mind? First, prohibition of anti-satellite systems; second, a ban on space armaments of the space-to-earth class, and, lastly, strengthening of the regime called for by the treaty on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems.

We proposed that the Soviet Union and the United States undertake the commitment not to exercise their right to withdraw from the ABM treaty for at least 15 years and strictly to abide by all of its provisions. To remove all misunderstandings, the Americans were urged to agree on a clear-cut distinction between permissible laboratory research on ABM systems or their components, and projects prohibited by the treaty.

As regards strategic offensive weapons, two major Soviet proposals have been submitted for consideration in Geneva. The first provides for a 50 per cent cut in Soviet and American nuclear weapons capable of reaching the territory of the other side—intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, heavy bombers and corresponding medium-range weapons (missiles and aircraft). Each side would be entitled to have on the remaining delivery vehicles no more than 6,000 nuclear warheads. Long-range cruise missiles of all basing modes would be prohibited.

The U.S. proved to be unprepared

for such a radical solution. Whereupon we proposed a compromise: the reduction by both sides of their strategic systems (ICBMs, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and heavy bombers and their weaponry) to 1,600 units on each side. A separate decision would be taken on medium-range weapons capable of reaching each other's territory, including long-range land-based cruise missiles. The deployment would be permitted within certain limits of long-range cruise missiles carried by bombers and strictly defined types and a limited number of submarines. Deployment of this type of cruise missiles on surface ships would be prohibited. After the reductions the total number of nuclear warheads would be limited to a maximum of 8,000 units on each side.

Our new proposal took into account the United States' two basic objections to the 50 per cent reduction, namely, its objections to the reduction of medium-range weapons capable of reaching each other's territory and to the total ban on long-range cruise missiles. Thus, we took into account the unwillingness of the U.S. to agree to far-reaching cuts. For the American proposals which are likewise supposed to envisage 50 per cent reductions actually would set the ceiling not at 6,000 but 15,000 or more nuclear warheads.

We of course prefer the more radical solution—reduction of the corresponding nuclear armaments of the Soviet Union and the United States by half, with a total ban on space strike weapons. As regards an interim arrangement it could be realized without delay. inside five-six years, if agreement were reached on the observance of the ABM treaty for at least another 15 years.

At the very beginning of the fifth round, the Soviet Union submitted a draft agreement on the elimination of American and Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe. The formulations of the draft which had been worked out in detail could serve as the basis for a joint draft of such an agreement. However, our proposal was in effect drowned in far-fetched procedural discussions deliberately started by the American side.

Now about the allegations advanced in the West that the Soviet side proclaims far-reaching proposals from the high rostrum which then are not laid on the negotiating table. As a participant in the Geneva talks and as one familiar with the state of affairs also at other negotiations on disarmament and confidence-building measures, I can definitely say that this is a malicious Western propaganda invention.

The proposals the Soviet delegation has put forward at the talks fully accord with what the Soviet leadership has been saying. This applies also to proposals relating to nuclear and space weapons.

Some in the West are trying to make it appear as if the Soviet Union's new proposal on medium-range missiles were identical with the "zero option" Reagan put forward some time ago.

The point is not whether it corresponds to the option Reagan offered or not. The crucial thing is which proposal would reduce the Soviet-American nuclear missile confrontation in Europe to zero, and which would not.

The U.S. "zero option" was put forward as a means of achieving the one-sided disarmament of the U.S.S.R. in the sphere of medium-range missiles both in Europe and in Asia. We, on the contrary, offer a fair and effective way of doing away with all missiles, both Soviet and American in Europe, where the concentration of this type of weapon presents the greatest danger. We are ready to destroy the SS-20 missiles if the U.S. does likewise with its own medium-range missiles in Europe. Moreover, we do not insist on the elimination of the corresponding French and British nuclear weapons. We are ready to give effect to our proposal, provided these nuclear forces remain numerically unchanged and the U.S. does not transfer its strategic and medium-range missiles to other countries. We are of course exposing our security to a certain risk, but we realize that someone must take the first step towards ridding Europe of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical.

Can it be said that the proposals put forward by the Warsaw Treaty countries in Budapest have had an influence on the course of the talks in Geneva?

It definitely can. The point is that—evidently not without prompting from the U.S.—objections have been raised in some European countries, primarily in the F.R.G., to our proposal on medium-range missiles. These objections boil down to the contention that if the U.S. missiles were removed from Europe the NATO countries would be at a disadvantage inasmuch as the U.S.S.R. has operational-tactical and tactical nuclear weapons which supposedly would give it the advantage. Besides, the proponents of this view in the West argue that the U.S.S.R. and the other Warsaw Treaty countries possess more powerful armed forces than NATO and this, they say, would be damaging to Western security if the U.S. missiles were removed. Both of these objections are figments of imagination and do not accord with the actual balance of strength—the rough parity between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries.

The Budapest programme for the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals and the Soviet Union's readiness to reduce its operational-tactical nuclear strength simultaneously with its realization knocked the ground from under the feet of those who trotted out the "Soviet threat" bogey in this connection. These proposals unquestionably opened new favourable opportunities also for the Geneva talks. Whether our American negotiating partners will make use of these opportunities for the achievement of agreement, primarily on medium-range missiles in Europe, is another matter.

Many prominent Western politicians have made statements contending that there are signs of a breakthrough at the talks and even that by the end of the year a relevant agreement could be concluded. How justified is this optimism?

I would say that the position of the Soviet Union at the talks offers tangible openings for agreement on the entire range of problems relating to space and nuclear weapons already this year. The only obstacle is the position of our negotiating partners.

We are engaged in a constructive search for mutually acceptable practical solutions and do not seek unilateral benefits, military advantages for ourselves. We are ready for both the most radical solutions and interim decisions. Besides, we present no ultimatums. On the contrary, we take the position of the other side into account.

However, I am not prone to euphoria. What is needed is a sober appraisal of the state of affairs at the talks and of the actions undertaken by the U.S. outside their framework. The fact is that Washington has officially announced that it will not continue to observe the SALT-1 and SALT-2 treaties. If the U.S. goes on deploying more and more strategic armaments—and this is envisaged in its programmes—this trend of developments can in no way make for the success of the talks.

It is a well-known fact that the American SDI programme essentially runs counter to the ABM treaty, and it is not by chance that U.S. Defence Secretary Weinberger, for instance, has repeatedly said that at some stage in the realization of that programme the U.S. will have to either revise the treaty or simply withdraw from it.

The U.S. side has repeatedly voiced its readiness to hold a Soviet-American meeting at summit level. But if the U.S. really wants such a meeting, it should confirm by its actions its avowed readiness to work for concrete practical solutions in the matter of disarmament.

Interviewer: R. KRESTYANINOV

Old Partners, New Projects

The visit to Moscow of President François Mitterrand of the French Republic and his negotiations with Soviet leaders have given renewed impetus to relations between our two countries in a wide variety of fields, among which trade and economic exchanges have an important place. How do French businessmen assess past and future cooperation with the U.S.S.R.?

This was the subject of the interview given to a New Times correspondent by Alain Gomez, president-director general of the Thomson-Brandt company, and Maurice Mallet, director general of the Rhone-Poulenc group for cooperation with the CMEA countries and China.

NEW TIMES: How would you introduce your company to Soviet readers in just a few words?

ALAIN GOMEZ: Thomson is France's leading producer of electronic equipment and one of Western Europe's three biggest producers in this field.

MAURICE MALLET: Rhone-Poulenc is among Western Europe's top five and the world's top dozen chemical companies.

NEW TIMES: Can you trace the development of your trade and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union through its main stages?

ALAIN GOMEZ: Thomson signed its first contracts with the U.S.S.R. in the mid-1950s. Over the past twenty years we've been selling you chiefly television station equipment, communication facilities and research equipment. Since the mid-1970s we've been doing increasing trade with our Soviet partners. May I remind you that Thomson was commissioned to supply the equipment used to telecast the Moscow Olympics worldwide. Furthermore, we have installed the latest information system at the TASS news agency, navigational equipment at a number of Soviet airports, and supplied several sets of complete plant for the making of electronic components. One of the latest contracts is for the development of an automatic control system for the oil fields near Orenburg.

MAURICE MALLET: Rhone-Poulenc signed its first contract with Soviet partners in 1960. Until the mid-1970s, however, our trade was rather sporadic and intermittent. The year 1976, when a five-year agreement was concluded with the U.S.S.R. for the mutual delivery of chemicals to the value of six billion francs, marked a turning point in our cooperation. Another such agreement, this time for a term of ten years and worth 30 billion francs (a sixfold increase) was signed in 1980. We regard it as a model of large-scale cooperation on a long-term basis. The international climate has cooled over the last few years, and some have begun to doubt whether it was expedient to trade with the East. Rhone-Poulenc's attitude has always been crystal-clear: the agreements with the Soviet Union bear our signature, and we are in the habit of abiding by our commitments. We live in the real world, not in that dreamed up by certain mass media which picture the U.S.S.R. as a cannibal out to devour Europe.

NEW TIMES: The advantages of bilateral trade can be assessed from different standpoints. Our French partners know the U.S.S.R. to be a steady and reliable supplier of mineral fuels. Soviet orders create tens of thousands of jobs (some estimates put the figure at over 100,000). This is a factor of no small importance, given the present employment situation. What does cooperation with the Soviet Union mean to your company?

ALAIN GOMEZ: The Soviet market is vast and contracts are correspondingly large, which certainly attracts Thomson. But I should like to stress that the Soviet market is also highly exacting. Dealing with it is of indisputable technical interest to us. For instance, we are now developing the latest automatic remote control system for Soviet gas pipelines, and there is simply nothing like it in the world. Finding solutions of such technologically complex problems enhances Thomson's prestige on the world market.

MAURICE MALLET: We are mutually complementary from the point of view of production and this constitutes the basis of our relations with the Soviet Union which possesses considerable industrial potential. This enables us to keep increasing our deliveries to the U.S.S.R. and to expand the supply of the company thanks to Soviet raw materials and chemical products. Over the past decade Rhone-Poulenc has carried out a radical reconstruction of its industrial setup and eliminated some of its elements. This has lent special importance to the stability of our business links. Add to this our Soviet partners' reliability and unfailing fidelity to their commitments.

NEW TIMES: New Soviet plans provide for accelerating socio-economic progress through the extensive utilization of the latest in science and technology. What prospects does the U.S.S.R.'s 12th five-year plan hold out to you?

ALAIN GOMEZ: The modernization of industrial plants is high on your list of priorities, and Thomson's experience in the field of flowline production may prove useful to you. We have the knowhow required to build highly-efficient TV-set production lines, and we have already offered the U.S.S.R. our cooperation in reconstructing its TV factories. Thomson is also ready to pass on the techniques it uses in the mass production of various electronic assemblies and components. Finally, we and other French companies shall be only too willing to cooperate with the U.S.S.R. in introducing information science into teaching process at all levels on a wide scale.

MAURICE MALLET: Rhone-Poulenc knows its Soviet partners well enough to offer them exactly the chemicals they need. Promoting the development of agriculture remains a priority and we have something to offer in the field of agrochemistry. I think we must go further in the way of complementing each other and coordinate capital investment, the cost of which is growing fast everywhere. In the long term we might even set up joint factories. Although this form of cooperation is not simple and is unlikely to bring practical results in the short term, it is interesting nevertheless.

NEW TIMES: Although the U.S.S.R. will depend on its own scientific and technological potential, above all, for the acceleration of its socio-economic development, we in no way deny the need for the active use of the possibilities offered by foreign trade. Notably, France favours enriching the content of Soviet-French trade. Many experts say that the way to increase the proportion of machines and equipment in it lies in promoting scientific and technical cooperation and industrial co-production. What do you think the out-

Mikhail Gorbachev talking with President François Mitterrand of France whose official visit to Moscow began on July 7.

TASS photo

look is for these forms of economic links between our two countries! In what ways can your company contribute to their development! Are you interested in new engineering ideas or products from the U.S.S.R.!

ALAIN GOMEZ: I think the future certainly lies with these forms of cooperation. May I return to something I have already mentioned in connection with Thomson's probable involvement in reconstructing Soviet industrial plants. I should like to stress that we are going to contribute to this effort not as a seller of individual products or systems, albeit very sophisticated ones, but as a partner ready to offer the U.S.S.R. constant cooperation in modernizing whole groups of plants.

NEW TIMES: Does this mean that there will be room for Soviet-made equipment in the French systems offered to the Soviet Union!

ALAIN GOMEZ: Such a possibility hasn't been discussed so far, but it certainly merits consideration, particularly in the context of our cooperation in introducing computers for use at educational establishments.

MAURICE MALLET: It's time we stopped thinking that science is to be found only on the banks of the Rhine and on the shores of the Atlantic. Science is making progress everywhere, the U.S.S.R. included. This is a reality. Rhone-Poulenc purchases licences from the Soviet Union, the latest one being for the production of antibiotics.

NEW TIMES: The nature of industrial co-production is such that it can be based only on a strong foundation of mutual trust and stability. Nevertheless, world economic links are not free of discriminatory practices, all sorts of bans and embargoes. How would you comment in this connection on the Soviet proposal to hold a world congress on problems of economic security!

MAURICE MALLET: I have no definite opinion on that score. One thing is certain: we are entering an epoch of growing international economic interdependence, and must get rid of old notions and methods (such as mistrust and bans, often absolutely ridiculous).

NEW TIMES: Whether we want it or not, there does exist an undeniable connection between trade and politics. For a long time Soviet-French trade and economic links developed in a favourable atmosphere of intense political relationships. On the other hand, when the winds of cold war started to blow in the past few years, economic cooperation helped protect the roots of détente from its icy breath and keep them alive. Do you think the resumption of regular Soviet-French summit meetings is a positive factor for bilateral trade and economic links! What do you, as a businessman, expect from the French President's visit to the U.S.S.R.!

MAURICE MALLET: I have always been all for summits. They are as natural and necessary for Soviet-French relations as a pen is for writing. Without them the relations between our two countries cannot be full-blooded. What do I expect from the visit? I am not going to give statesmen any advice. But I think it would be unwise to clutter summit meetings up with petty issues of secondary importance out of keeping with the two countries' political weight in the world.

ALAIN GOMEZ: It is hard for a businessman to make judgements about high-level politics. But whatever provides the opportunities and prerequisites for the broadening of trade links is useful. It is important therefore that contacts should develop at all levels.

NEW TIMES: The long record of trade and economic ties between the U.S.S.R. and France shows that where there is a will there is always a way to find solutions to the most complicated problems. Over the past few years, for instance, the financing of the export of French equipment has come up against certain difficulties which have had an adverse effect on the contracts signed. But the parties concerned patiently searched for, and finally found a compromise solution—the use of the European currency unit in foreign trade crediting. This was done at the U.S.S.R.'s suggestion. Have there arisen, in the course of your firm's relationship with the Soviet Union, any seemingly "hopeless problems" which were, nonetheless, eventually resolved!

ALAIN GOMEZ: As far as I remember there haven't. Problems arise in signing any contract. But we have a long history of relations behind us, and we've got to know each other quite well. This makes us confident that should any difficulties come up in the future they will be settled through discussion and negotiation, as has invariably been the case in the past.

MAURICE MALLET: Examples abound. While drawing up the first agreement in 1976, we were not prepared at first to accept the compensation terms the Soviet side suggested. By joint efforts, however, we did not only get things going but even attained a higher level of cooperation later on.

NEW TIMES: What would you like to convey to your Soviet partners through our magazine!

ALAIN GOMEZ: Thomson deeply appreciates its cooperation with the Soviet Union, now thirty years old, and wants to carry on contacts and exchanges with Soviet factories and organizations. Thomson can make competitive bids for contracts associated with its participation in modernizing the Soviet economy. In short, we are for a continued dialogue.

MAURICE MALLET: Western Europe, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, on the other, are the two largest markets on the planet. We are only three, rather than ten, hours by air away from each other. Although we belong to different political systems, we live in the same world. Let us not forget that.

Interviewed by A. KUDRYAVTSEV at the request of New Times

Paris

Why the United States wants to scrap the existing accords on strategic arms limitation.

SALT-2: A Rubicon in American Policy

ALEXEI ARBATOV, D. Sc. (Hist.)

The intention of the United States no longer to abide by the SALT-2 treaty and the SALT-1 interim agreement, announced by President Reagan on May 27 this year, would signify, should it be carried out next autumn, a serious negative turn in Soviet-American relations and in world politics which is already beset by more than its fair share of complications.

The wrecking of these agreements could generate a chain reaction leading to the collapse of the existing international system of arms limitation and block the road to new accords in the field of disarmament. The world is threatened with the danger of an uncontrolled arms race and of sliding into the thermonuclear abyss. What are the motives and aims that prompted Washington to make such an irresponsible challenge to the spirit of the Geneva summit, the genuine interests of both the Soviet and American peoples and the hopes of mankind that war can be averted?

The present Administration has always wanted to have a free hand in carrying out a vast armaments programme designed to secure military superiority over the U.S.S.R., and this intent was glaringly obvious in the President's May 27 statement despite all the demagogical phraseology it contained about the striving of the United States for peace and disarmament. The limitations imposed by SALT-2 create substantial obstacles to the further buildup of American strategic arsenals.

Indeed, as it puts into service new submarines of the Ohio class armed with Trident-1 and subsequently Trident-2 SLBMs (over and above the first six submarines), the United States is obliged, as from 1985, to dismantle nuclear submarines with Poseidon SLBMs in the ratio of three old for two new ones. This is necessary for it to remain within the SALT-2 limits of 1,200 units for submarine-launched ballistic missiles and land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles with MIRVed warheads. (MIRV stands for multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles.) In order to stay within the established limit of 1,320 units for multiple-warheads delivery vehicles (missile launchers and heavy bombers) the United States, as from 1986, must dismantle MIRVed missiles for each B-52 and B-1B heavy bomber fitted out with cruise missiles (over and above 130 planes)*.

It would be wrong, however, to give only military explanations of the President's decision. Contrary to complaints by American opponents of the agreements, the compensatory phasing out of old armaments in the event of the deployment of new ones within the SALT-1 and SALT-2 limits is far from being a painful process. More than that, it sometimes saves money. For example, it is cheaper to scrap service-worn submarines than to overhaul them. It was for this reason that the United States dismantled a Poseidon submarine last year and another two this year (after two Ohio missile-firing submarines went to sea). In the entire period of the existence of the SALT agreements, Washington has withdrawn from its strategic forces 168 delivery vehicles and the Soviet Union 540.

A series of 31 Poseidon submarines was built at an accelerated pace in 1962-67. Since such submarines are expected to serve for 25-30 years, they are to be phased out late in the 1980s or in the first half of the 1990s, thus giving the United States a reserve of 496 units of multiple-warhead delivery vehicles. The SALT-2 limits only make it necessary to begin phasing out the first batch of old nuclear-powered submarines a few years earlier than planned. An additional reserve for the deployment of MX ICBMs as from 1986 can be ensured in the 1990s by the withdrawal of some of the Minuteman-3 ICBMs in whose launching silos it is intended to instal the first series of MX missiles. In the 1990-95 period 250 Minuteman-3 missiles will exceed their term of 20 years of combat service.

As for the development of the second new type of light ICBM—the Midgetman (the President has appointed a special commission on this matter), even in the event of a positive recommendation by the commission the problem of compliance with SALT-2 (which permits only one new type of light ICBM) may arise nearer to the mid-1990s when the time to test the system comes. It is not by chance that even the U.S. top brass—the Joint Chiefs of Staff—who should, it would seem, be averse to the idea of scrapping armaments, were until recently in favour of observing SALT-2. And this stand was explained by rudimentary common sense. (It was only at the last moment that the generals succumbed to their superiors.)

The point is that a number of limitations for which the United States pressed most insistently at the talks in the 1970s in the hope of tying the Soviet Union's hands have on the whole been included in the SALT-2 treaty. I refer first of all to the ceilings on the total number of strategic delivery vehicles, the number of MIRVed ICBMs and SLBMs, the number of land-based multiple-warhead ICBMs, the ban on the building of additional fixed ICBM

* These demands are explained by simple arithmetic. The U.S. had 496 Poseidon SLBMs on 31 submarines and 550 MIRVed Minuteman-2 ICBMs, totalling 1,046 units. By 1985 it had built another 6 nuclear submarines of the Ohio class with 24 Trident-1 SLBMs each. This brought the total to 1,190 units. The 7th and 8th Ohio submarines would exceed the ceiling of 1,200 units by 38. If three Poseidon submarines with 16 missiles each are phased out in compensation the total number of MIRVed missiles will remain at 1,190 units. This makes it possible to deploy in addition not more than 130 heavy bombers with cruise missiles so as not to exceed the limit of 1,320 units imposed by SALT-2 on multiple-warhead delivery vehicles.

launchers, their redeployment and the conversion of light ICBM launchers into silos for heavy ICBMs (this actually amounting to the perpetuation of the number of Soviet heavy SS-18 missiles). Also in this category is the ban on new types of heavy ICBMs, the limit on the number of permitted new types of light ICBMs (not more than one), on the number of multiple warheads on the existing ICBMs and on a new type of missiles of this class.

As for the limitations on which the Soviet Union insisted, they were included mostly in the protocol to the SALT-2 treaty (the ban on the deployment of sea- and land-based cruise missiles with a range exceeding 600 kilometres and also of mobile ICBM launchers). Under the pretext that the protocol had expired in 1981, the United States started in 1983 to deploy cruise missile systems banned by it.

This means that if SALT-2 is wrecked, most of the bans lifted are those on which Washington had stubbornly insisted at the time. These are limitations which affected Soviet strategic programmes to a much greater extent than American ones. What in the past was seen by the United States as a considerable gain for itself is now presented as a major military-strategic handicap to Washington's position in respect to SALT-2.

No wonder that even many American supporters of new arms programmes think the abandoning of SALT-2 would land Washington with much more problems than gains even from the standpoint of securing unilateral military advantages. This prompts the conclusion that the President's decision was clearly dictated much more by political considerations than by military-strategic ones. Besides, the specific points of the President's statement give the impression of continued infighting within the Administration. They appear to be a rather temporary compromise between various groupings in American ruling circles.

There are a number of reasons for the present flareup in Washington's corridors of power of this tussle over questions relating to the Soviet-American dialogue on arms reduction and limitation. After the Geneva summit we witnessed across the ocean an obvious increase of interest in Soviet-American talks, and points of contact appeared with regard to some of the problems. Opposition to the growth of military spending increased and criticism of the SDI programme by specialists as well as laymen intensified.

The prolongation by the Soviet Union of its moratorium on nuclear explosions, the new proposals put forward by socialist countries to reduce conventional armaments in Europe, Moscow's new approaches to solving problems at the Geneva talks have exerted a tremendous positive influence on the political climate throughout the world. But the very same initiatives have caused alarm and resistance from extreme right-wing forces within the Administration. They have chosen the expediency of U.S. compliance with SALT-2 as the most vulnerable target and camouflaged their aim behind a hyped-up campaign about mythical "Soviet violations" of this treaty.

These forces see their aim in blocking progress at the talks and in torpedoing the existing agreements so as to free themselves of the political constraints that prevent a further spiralling of the arms race. They are prepared to accept even temporary strategic losses for the sake of this long-term objective. Most importantly, the hawks in the U.S. ruling circles see violation of the unratified SALT-2 treaty as a stepping stone to the subsequent wrecking of the unlimited ABM treaty which is the cornerstone of the entire system of arms race control and the main obstacle to the "star wars" programme.

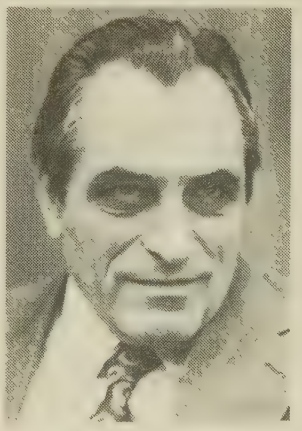
The Soviet Union's stand on this question was stated in no uncertain terms at a very high level. We were not intimidated by Washington's threat to ditch SALT-2. The U.S.S.R. has always believed that SALT-2 has never been a favour granted to it by the United States. The treaty benefited both sides. And this is our explanation for the commitment not to undermine it undertaken by the United States in 1982 despite all previous attacks by the present leadership against SALT-2 and its non-ratification by Congress.

Furthermore, after the United States dealt a blow to SALT-2 by starting to deploy land- and sea-based cruise missiles prohibited by the protocol, the policy of observing the treaty's limitations was one of good will and tolerance on the part of the U.S.S.R. and not of the United States. We continued to observe the treaty not because we were more interested in it in terms of military strategy than the United States. We considered it important to preserve everything positive that had been attained through long and difficult talks in the 1970s both to maintain a favourable political atmosphere and as a basis for subsequent agreements on more radical disarmament measures.

So it seems the U.S. government should consider once again the question of observing the treaty. For the Soviet Union will not be an accomplice to the dismantling of SALT-2 part by part, especially those parts which the United States would want to abandon selectively. In this case the U.S.S.R. will consider itself free of all the treaty's limitations that prevent it from

PEOPLE ON THE WORLD SCENE

SINAN HASANI



Sinan Hasani, who took office as President of Yugoslavia's Collective Presidency on May 15, 1986, in accordance with the executive personnel rotation system accepted in the country, was born on May 14, 1922 in the village of Pozaranje (Kosovo). He is an Albanian by nationality. A member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia since 1942, he took part in the national war of liberation.

After the liberation of Yugoslavia and the establishment of people's rule in the country, Sinan Hasani completed his studies at Duro Dakovic Higher Political School and later held a succession of high elective posts in Party and state bodies: secretary of the district party committee, chairman of the Provincial Committee of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Kosovo, and member of the Executive Council (Government) of that autonomous province. From 1964 to 1967 he was the director of the Rilindja publishing house. In 1967, Sinan Hasani was elected Vice-President of the Skupstina of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. He was on Yugoslavia's Federal Executive Council's (Government) Commission for cooperation with UNESCO.

From 1971 to 1974, Sinan Hasani was Ambassador to Denmark, and from 1974 to 1982 he held the post of Vice-President of the Skupstina of Yugoslavia. He was repeatedly elected as deputy to the provincial, republican and federal skupstinas.

Sinan Hasani was elected to the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia at the Eleventh, Twelfth and 13th LCY congresses. From 1982 to 1984 he was President of the Provincial Committee of Kosovo League of Communists, which position entitled him to membership of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. In May 1984 Sinan Hasani entered the Collective Presidency as a representative for the Autonomous Province of Kosovo. On May 15, 1985, he was elected Vice-President of the Collective Presidency of Yugoslavia.

Sinan Hasani is a member of the Kosovo Academy of Sciences and Arts and is the author of a number of literary works.

He holds several major government distinctions.

adopting measures to strengthen its defences in response to U.S. offensive and space-based anti-missile weapons. Responsibility for the consequences of an unchecked arms race will rest squarely with Washington.

The problem of observance of agreements has now become a major problem in Soviet-American relations, and no less of a problem than that of concluding new accords. If only because the latter can be based only on the foundation of the existing system of arms limitation. If this foundation is destroyed it will be difficult if not futile to count on reaching new agreements.

In any area of law treaties are to be found about which the parties differ. The two powers have accumulated a number of claims and counter-claims concerning the observance of SALT-1, SALT-2 and the ABM treaty. As for SALT-2, this is due most of all to its uncertain juridical status: it has not been ratified by the United States. There is yet another reason—Washington's violation of provisions of the protocol. At the time of signing the protocol was viewed as an integral element of SALT-2 and the issues mentioned in it were to find a permanent solution in SALT-3.

The Soviet Union has a long list of questions it would like to put to the United States. Some of these could well serve as an adequate pretext for withdrawing from the treaty. But being aware of the full importance of the problem and the responsibility of the great powers for the operation of the agreements and the process of arms limitation, we tried to resolve questions that arose by way of contacts, using the mechanism offered by the standing consultative commission in Geneva. On its part, the U.S.S.R. has always given detailed answers to all U.S. charges against it, ranging from the radar in Krasnoyarsk to the ICBM of the RS-12M type (SS-25 according to the Western classification) and the coding of a part of the telemetry during test missile launchings. The Soviet Union, as has been repeatedly stated by its officials, strictly abides by the existing agreements.

If the United States were really concerned about the observance of the agreements, this problem could no doubt be solved relatively quickly on a level that would accord with the importance of the problem. When the roof leaks, the problem should be resolved with prompt repairs and not by blasting the entire building. So if Washington implements its decision next autumn and exceeds the limits imposed by SALT-2, nobody should have any lingering doubts that the claims of mythical "Soviet violations" are merely a clumsy pretext invented by those who want to have a free hand in lifting all restraints on the arms race. ■

PANORAMA

NICARAGUA

NATION ON THE ALERT

Several weeks have passed since the U.S. House of Representatives approved $100 million for aid to the contras but the storm of indignation this evoked in Nicaragua is mounting rather than abating. And understandably. For the $100 million, the press reports, is but one tenth of the funds reaching the contras from the U.S. through various channels. Egged on by Washington, they are already stepping up their attacks on the Sandinist republic. The casualty toll among Nicaraguans taken by the Reagan Administration's policy of state terrorism in the years of the undeclared war runs to 29,000.

Shortly after news came of the House vote leaders of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (SNLF), the government and representatives of the working people met in Managua. In a speech broadcast by radio and television President Daniel Ortega told the gathering that the appropriation by the House of funds for open war against the Nicaraguan people could have very serious and unpredictable consequences. To foil Washington's plans it was essential, he said, to strengthen the defence capability of the country, enhance revolutionary vigilance and strictly to observe the emergency law, and prevent any action by agents of the U.S. government. Every work-place, the President emphasized, "must be a frontline trench."

In response to this appeal a rally attended by more than 60,000 people was held in Managua, followed by a march to Masaya, 30 kilometres from the capital, the route taken by Nicaraguan revolutionaries seven years ago in a tactical withdrawal to concentrate forces for the decisive blow at the dictatorship.

Meetings and rallies have been held these days in other towns as well. American citizens in Managua gathered outside the U.S. Embassy carrying streamers saying: "Nicaragua Wants Peace." The Sandinist leaders' appeal to close ranks in face of the aggression found response also on the Atlantic coast which is inhabited mainly by Indian tribes and other ethnic minorities. The leaders of the Indian organization MISATAN issued a statement proposing a united front of all strata and groups of the local population to combat subversion. This statement was also an answer to the recent terrorist sallies of CIA-sponsored counterrevolutionary organizations of Indian tribesmen.

The government's decision temporarily to close Prensa, the mouthpiece of the right-wing opposition, and deny an entry visa to the reactionary priest Bismark Carballo has met with public approval. Prensa has long specialized in the publication of provocative articles and general misinformation. It has justified the U.S. aggression and rejected the efforts of the Contadora group to regulate the conflict.

As for Bismark Carballo, he has constantly engaged in activities directed against the Sandinist authorities and has come out openly in support of funds for the contras to wage war against the Sandinists. Moreover, Carballo is not the only opponent of the people's government among the church hierarchy. The top church clergy has adopted an essentially hostile attitude to the new system. It sows confusion and panic, seeks to exert a corrupting influence on certain sections of the population. It is not by chance that the contras regard Cardinal Obando-y-Bravo as their "spiritual father." Early in July Bishop Pablo Antonio Vega was expelled from the country for unpatriotic activity.

Speaking of the measures taken against the internal reaction, Comandante Bayardo Arce, vice-coordinator of the executive commission of the SNLF, said at a press conference that while the revolution was in duty bound to protect itself and rid itself of its enemies, the new situation in no way affected opposition elements who were not agents of imperialism. Legal parties continue to function. They hold their meetings. Privately-owned factories are free to operate. However, Arce noted, "we cannot allow anyone to engage in counterrevolutionary propaganda." The task of the Nicaraguans at this time is to prepare thoroughly to deal with the aggression, he stressed.

And that is precisely what the Nicaraguans are doing. Reservists spend their free time in military training. Men

and women of various ages, youths and girls can be seen on the streets hurrying to drill. Their mood is militant and resolute and there is no sign of panic. A session of the Sandinist Assembly held on June 30-July 2 discussed questions of production and supply. This is the tense rhythm in which the people of Nicaragua are fighting and working in the face of the increased threat.

V. DOLGOV
Our Own Correspondent
Managua

LEBANON

THE HOPES OF BEIRUT

Lebanon is again cherishing hopes. Hopes for an end to the bloodshed and for the restoration of security and order, if only in West Beirut, which in recent years has become the arena of internecine clashes, lawlessness and anarchy. In June alone 119 persons died in the fighting between Palestinians from refugee camps and members of the Shiite Amal organization. And the total number of casualties throughout the 11 years of civil war in Lebanon runs to 100,000.

A street in West Beirut. The city has suffered heavily in the civil war and internecine clashes.

Photo by author

The western sector of the Lebanese capital is today the stronghold of those who are countering the forces of the right-Christian reaction, of those who are opposed to the division of the country into confessionalist cantons and are fighting for the expulsion of the Israeli invaders from southern Lebanon. Hence the importance of the restoration in West Beirut of law and order, security and stability based on mutual understanding and cooperation among all the national and patriotic forces. It is primarily the enemies of Lebanon unity, i.e., the internal reaction, Israel and U.S. imperialist quarters, which are interested in turning West Beirut into a heap of ruins. It is their agents that are doing everything to complicate the situation there, inciting friction between the different parties and organizations, between the Lebanese and the Palestinian refugees, between Sunnites and Shiites, Moslems and Christians.

The general strike declared in West Beirut on July 3 has given added impetus to the efforts of the Lebanese national-patriotic forces together with friendly Syria to give effect to the agreement reached in mid-June in Damascus during the meeting of Lebanese religious and political (Moslem) leaders there.

The Damascus agreement provides for the stabilization of the situation in West Beirut with the help of special armed formations capable of dealing with those who are provoking disorders and staking on anarchy. The political parties and organizations represented in West Beirut have agreed to the closure of their offices and missions in this sector, the banning from the streets of armed men and denial of party support to anyone who violates the ban. There is to be an immediate end to the clashes between Palestinians and Amal fighters, and Lebanese army units and the revived security forces are to be stationed around the Palestinian refugee camps.

A special ministerial council headed by Prime Minister Rachid Karame has been set up to carry out the Damascus agreement. It includes such prominent figures as Walid Jumblatt, leader of the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP), Nabih Berry, head of the Shiite Amal organization (both are members of the government), Adel Osseyrane, Minister of Defence and Agriculture, and Selim Hoss, Minister of Works, Education and Fine Arts (former prime minister).

Symptomatic on this plane is the position of Nabih Berry. In an interview to Lebanese television the Amal leader admitted that his organization shares with the PSP some of the responsibility for the repeated failure of previous efforts to normalize the West Beirut situation. Berry pledged his full cooperation in implementing the Damascus agreement. He pointed out that without security in West Beirut it was impossible to achieve a settlement in Lebanon as a whole. Other parties and organizations represented in West Beirut also promised to cooperate.

An important guarantee of the realization of the Damascus agreement is the increased number of Syrian military observers in West Beirut. In this connection an information bulletin published in Beirut reminded its readers that the presence on Lebanese territory ten years ago of Syrian contingents as part of the inter-Arab peace force had on more than one occasion helped to end bloodshed in different parts of the country. The Lebanese newspapers published the statement by General Kanaan, chief of intelligence of the Syrian units stationed in Lebanon, that "there can be no return to the old and the troops have been ordered to retaliate with two bullets to one."

According to Beirut newspapers, General Kanaan urged the Lebanese soldiers to take resolute action against those who prevent implementation of the Damascus agreement. He warned that if this agreement failed, Syrian troops would be introduced into West Beirut. Prime Minister Karame has also taken a tough position. A meeting of the min-

isterial committee he heads decided not to stop at the use of force. Karame personally has ordered that those who "violate law and order be severely dealt with." June 27 was given as the date on which the security plan is to go into effect. In surprise operations carried out by security forces and army patrols, accompanied by Syrian military observers, the district offices and missions of various parties and organizations were closed down, quantities of weapons confiscated and serveral armed men lurking on the streets arrested. It is noteworthy that the Amal leadership did not defend members of the organization arrested for unlawful actions. It is expected that the next step will be to disarm the local "militia" and to remove their weapons to dumps outside the city. A ceasefire is in force in the area of the Palestinian refugee camps. Disengagement forces consisting chiefly of units of the Lebanese Baath Party close to Syria have been stationed between the conflicting sides.

If implementation of the Damascus agreement really succeeds this will be an important factor making for normalization of the situation throughout Lebanon.

E. KORSHUNOV

CHILE

THE LESSONS OF THE STRIKE

A nationwide political strike, the first since the military coup in 1973, took place in Chile on July 2-3 under slogans demanding the immediate resignation of Pinochet, and the restoration of human rights and democratic freedoms. All the principal districts of the country were affected. For 48 hours industrial enterprises stood idle, and schools and universities, as well as many offices, were closed. Bus and lorry drivers struck work, barricades were built in working-class districts and there were mass rallies and demonstrations.

Pinochet replied to this eruption of popular wrath by sending out the army, the police and special service punitive units to deal with the strikers and demonstrators. Firearms, tear gas grenades and water cannons were used. There were killed and wounded, and more than a thousand arrests were made.

The present strike added to the arsenal of means used by the Chilean people in their struggle to overthrow the junta (Days of National Protest, meetings and marches, acts of civil disobedience and armed operations by the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front).

Lack of unity among the anti-dictatorship forces hitherto prevented such broad-scale protest actions as the national strike. It became possible after the establishment in April of the National Civil Assembly which was joined by major opposition political, trade union and other mass organizations, as well as associations of students, and scientific and cultural workers. It was in response to the Assembly's call that the national strike took place.

Police break up a demonstration in Santiago.

Reuter-TASS photo

Thus, the unity achieved to date by the opposition forces proved enough to bring the masses onto the streets and to stop work at plants and factories for one or two days. However, to deal the tyranny a decisive defeat the positions of the different groups in the anti-dictatorship camp must be brought still closer together. Serious inter-party differences still persist. Opinions as to what political system should replace the Pinochet's totalitarian regime differ. Some quite influential opposition trends are still trying to isolate the Communists, the most consistent fighters for the restoration of democracy.

Pinochet has been able to remain in power in recent years by manoeuvring — by combining terror tactics with some political concessions. He has had to grant a few formal freedoms, to close his eyes to the semi-legal activity of the opposition. The press has been permitted to publish critical views of the situation in the country. Not long ago a new paper, Epoca, connected with the opposition, was allowed to appear. In May more than a hundred parliamentarians from Latin America and Europe were able to hold a conference in Santiago at which problems relating to the transition to civilian government in Chile were discussed. The apotheosis of the Pinochet "reformism" was the setting up in late June of a government "commission on human rights" which has allegedly been charged with monitoring observance of the "guarantees of life, security and personal liberty of citizens" (the edict on the establishment of the commission struck a rather curious note considering that violence continues to be the dictator's main instrument for retaining power). All this still engenders illusions among some sections of the opposition that dialogue with the junta will be productive. However, the vast majority of the regime's opponents have not been hoodwinked.

Pinochet continues to swing back and forth between terror and political trickery. The only way to end both and force the tyrant to go is by increasingly determined and concerted action by the supporters of democracy. This is the main lesson the patriotic forces have learned from the national strike.

V. CHIRKOV

JAPAN

LDP on Top

In the July 6 double elections to the upper and lower chambers of Parliament the governing Liberal Democratic Party scored the biggest victory in its history. It needed to win a minimum of 62 of the 126 contested seats to have firm control in the Upper Chamber. It won 71. Of the 512 seats in the Lower Chamber the LDP received 300, 50 more than in the 1983 elections. What are the reasons for this sharp swing of the pendulum of political life in Japan?

Commentators begin with the weather which was fine enough to enable people to get to the polling stations and at the same time cloudy enough to discourage voters from spending the day in the country. In the event, more than 71 per cent of the electorate cast their votes.

But of course the weather has nothing to do with it. A wide range of factors was involved. For one thing, the LDP was right in counting on a repetition of its success in the 1980 double elections. Noted also is the skilful election grooming given the LDP machine in the localities, the increase in "political donations" from industrial quarters alarmed by the setback the LDP suffered three years ago. No small role was played, too, by the personal popularity of Nakasone who had made a series of much-publicized trips abroad and received high-ranking foreign visitors in Tokyo with an eye to the forthcoming elections. Most of the LDP candidates were party veterans who have close ties with their constituents by virtue of all manner of services rendered over the years. One in every three candidates inherited his constituency from his father or some other close relative.

True, the LDP came in for some sharp criticism. On the eve of the elections there were several bribery scandals. Concessions to U.S. and West European trade partners, approved by the LDP, sent up the rate of the yen causing a marked deterioration in the situation on the export markets. For the first time in 11 years the gross national product in the first three months of this year declined instead of increasing. A record number of bankruptcies is registered every month. However, it looks as if it was the very uncertainty of the economic prospect that sent millions of voters into the arms of the Liberal Democrats.

The inertia of habit also played its part. Besides, many voters have little confidence in the opposition parties, which have no experience in government.

The defeat of the opposition was in inverse proportion to the Conservatives victory. The Socialists suffered the biggest losses. Nearly all the centrist parties—the Komeito, the Democratic Socialist Party and the New Liberal Club have lost ground. The setback for the Socialists and Centrists is attributed to the weakness of their finances which could not stand the burden of double election expenses and also to their failure to focus their election campaign on problems embarrassing for the Conservatives. The rightward shift of the centrist parties to be observed of late also probably made itself felt. Having to some extent lost their political face, they are less often regarded as an alternative to the ruling party, and this has cost them the support of the electorate. The Communist Party of Japan, which criticizes the LDP's home and foreign policy on matters of principle, has held its ground in Parliament even increasing its representation in the Upper Chamber.

The impressive changes in the alignment of forces in Parliament are not likely to have any far-reaching consequences, observers here believe. In this Parliament, too, those who call for a "final summing up of the results of World War Two," for lifting the ceiling on military spending and for Japan to join the "star wars" programme officially will meet with stiff resistance both from the opposition and moderates in the ruling party who do not agree with Nakasone. The contradictions between the LDP parliamentary factions have not ended. In all probability Nakasone will try to use the party's victory to push through bills of importance for the right-wing. He will also seek to retain the posts of head of the party and government as long as possible.

A special session of Parliament is expected on July 22. The new cabinet will presumably again be formed by Nakasone.

Our Own Correspondent

Tokyo

U.S.A.—NEW ZEALAND

BRIBERY AND INTIMIDATION

"We part company as friends but we part company," said U.S. State Secretary George Shultz summing up his meeting in Manila with Prime Minister David Lange of New Zealand. Washington's envoy had failed to talk his hosts out of banning nuclear-missile or atomic-powered ships from New Zealand ports.

Since the coming of David Lange's Labour government to power, U.S. naval vessels have been compelled to bypass New Zealand. Meanwhile Washington has been conducting a campaign of political, economic and psychological pressure on its ally in the ANZUS bloc. But all attempts at blackmail have failed. The ban is soon to become law: an appropriate bill has been submitted to parliament.

While on a tour of the Asian Pacific region in June—his second this year—Shultz decided to try again. In the capital of the Philippines he attended, as an observer, a conference of the ASEAN countries' Foreign Ministers, and buttonholed Lange there. His persuasions fell on deaf ears, however. The U.S. reaction was to stop regarding New Zealand as its ally, discontinue economic aid to it and to deprive it of whatever privileges it enjoyed in trade with the United States.

According to military experts, New Zealand is of no great importance to the Pentagon, and the U.S. Navy can easily do without its ports. What does interfere with U.S. strategic plans is the independent anti-war and anti-nuclear line taken by the South Pacific states, which is a new factor in world and regional politics.

The region, habitually perceived by the State Department as an "American lake" is becoming an arena of important political changes. As they slough off the vestiges of the colonial past, the island states of the region are making their own diplomatic and economic decisions without consulting Washington. This is what really sets the Americans' teeth on edge.

The agreement on establishing a nu-

clear-free zone in that part of the Pacific is likely to come into effect late this year or early next year. The agreement provides for the banning of nuclear tests and the disposal of nuclear waste, as well as the deployment and storage of nuclear weapons over an area spreading from Australia's west coast almost as far as Easter Island. This area will actually merge with the nuclear-free zones in Latin America and the Antarctic to form a single whole. As a result the deadliest weapon of mass destruction will be outlawed on about a fifth of the Earth's surface.

The Soviet Union has voiced its readiness to help establish the nuclear-free zone in the Southern Pacific. The United States is determined to prevent the implementation of the agreement, and to secure a firm foothold in the region. It is bringing political pressure to bear on some of the signatories to the agreement, and trying to bribe others.

Shultz completed his tour in Palau, the archipelago he had last set foot on four decades ago in a Marine uniform. The visit to Palau had nothing sentimental about it, however—the Pentagon plans to build new bases there in exchange for 1.5-billion-dollar aid.

Even the myth of the "Soviet threat" is resorted to in the U.S. opposition to anti-war movement in the South Pacific. "The long arm of Soviet influence reaches into the South Pacific to plant a carefully-positioned red flag," the Financial Times screams hysterically in connection with the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Vanuatu and the signing of a bilateral fishing agreement with Kiribati Archipelago. Any independent action taken by sovereign states is taken by the U.S. and some of its allies as a challenge and brings threats of punishment. Such threats are growing powerless, however. New Zealand feels safer without the American nuclear umbrella. Geoffrey Palmer, Deputy Prime Minister, said, the cabinet is "not at all worried" by the outcome of the Lange-Shultz talks. Sanctions notwithstanding.

L. MLECHIN

UNESCO's Role in the Modern World

I took part in the recent Paris session of the UNESCO Executive Board. As they covered the event, many bourgeois journalists sought to impress it on their readers that UNESCO was in the throes of an unprecedented and all but hopeless crisis and bogged down in fruitless political discussions, that the organization was in fact on the verge of collapse. Nevertheless, the session proved a success, and mutually acceptable decisions on all the items under discussion were adopted by consensus (i.e., by common agreement, without voting).

Let us now see what is actually happening in UNESCO.

This November the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization will be forty years old. Today it comprises 158 states (as against 44 which took part in the Constituent Conference). Even after the U.S., Britain and Singapore walked out, UNESCO remains one of the most representative universal international organizations, an instrument of multilateral cooperation between nations. Closely associated with it are four national liberation movements and 500 international non-governmental organizations. Incidentally, the U.S. and Britain did all they could to secure observers' status in UNESCO upon their withdrawal.

What Forty Years Have Brought

The organization has markedly expanded all the four areas of its activity: education, science, culture and mass communications. UNESCO has had a markedly positive evolution. After the U.S.S.R., other socialist countries and dozens of newly independent nations had joined it, the organization tackled pressing and global problems confronting mankind, such as preventing a universal nuclear catastrophe, curbing the arms race, and turning to disarmament in the interests of progress, for the sake of the preservation and further development of civilization.

All this riled the Reagan Administration. UNESCO, like the U.N. itself, became for the White House an undesirable feature of international reality. And if one adds to this that against the background of the unceasing struggle currently being waged for people's minds and hearts, UNESCO contributes to understanding and actively facilitates the restructuring of international information relations along democratic lines, and the use of spiritual values for the benefit of all nations as well as for progress, one will find it easy to understand why UNESCO became a thorn in the flesh for Reagan's America.

The U.S. resorted to intimidations and blackmail in its attempt to regain the control it had had over UNESCO in the forties and fifties. Washington must have forgotten that today's world is not at all what it was then. Having met with a rebuff, the White House set its sights on discrediting the organization, if not stifling it, by any means—falsification and slander not excluded. The bourgeois mass media and even certain statesmen in the U.S. and some other Western countries are active in this campaign. Washington asserted, without bothering to adduce any proofs, that UNESCO displayed hostility to the basic institutions of free (capitalist—**G.U.**) society, specifically the free market and free press. Such assertions, which cannot be backed up by a single of the organization's documents or actions, go to show that the U.S. is irritated not by the inevitable "politicization" of UNESCO, but by failure to impose on it "politicization" American-style. Explaining why Washington attacked UNESCO with particular fury, the French paper Libération pointed out, with good reason: "UNESCO is more important than other organizations because it is concerned with cultural distinctiveness and the rights of nations. Either is equally offensive to the American Administration now engaged in the material and spiritual assertion of America's might."

Washington fulminated against UNESCO and even tried to turn its allies against the organization. All it was able to show for its efforts was support from the British Tories and Singapore.

The latest, 23rd, session of the General Conference showed that UNESCO proved viable despite the damage done by the U.S. and Britain to its universal character and financial status. It remains as active as ever all along the line, faithful to its rules and committed to

its high ideals and objectives, to peace and multilateral international cooperation.

Prospects

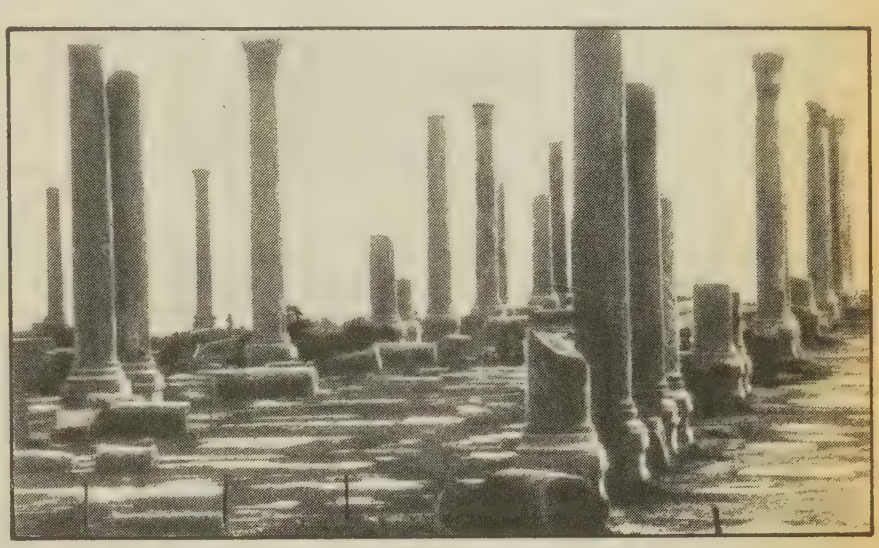
What is the top priority today? UNESCO's most important task today is to carry out the programmes adopted effectively despite its current financial difficulties. At the same time it has to map out its strategy for the period of up to the year 2000—in particular, draw up its third middle-term plan for 1990-95.

Much attention is still being paid to helping newly independent nations overcome the consequences of colonialism in the cultural sphere. The Sofia session decided, for instance, to proclaim International Literacy Year and work out a plan of action for the eradication of illiteracy by the year 2000. The magnitude of this problem and its global character will be seen from the fact that there are nearly 900 million illiterate people in the world today. UNESCO regards the promotion of international cooperation in the field of education not only as a major contribution to the development of the newly independent countries but also as a channel for exchanging experience accumulated in this field. UNESCO now gives much attention, on the initiative of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, in particular, to the introduction of computers into teaching processes, and the use of satellite communication and other achievements of modern science and technology.

A special programme, many research projects, symposiums and conferences are devoted to education in the spirit of peace and international cooperation. The implementation of an appropriate ten-year programme has started this year. The task now is to eliminate any form of discrimination in the field of education. Education should be planned as a continuous process, keeping abreast of scientific and technological progress. Great importance is attached to the teaching of ecological subjects, to making the rising generation and adults environment-conscious.

UNESCO's activity in social sciences is aimed at shedding more light on the problem of mankind's survival in the face of the threat of nuclear war. Under the influence of the stand taken by the socialist and a number of newly independent countries, the organization is coming to realize, to an ever greater extent, that its analytical activity can and must promote the worldwide dissemination of new thinking called for by the realities of the nuclear age.

The role played by the mass media today is common knowledge. UNESCO continues, despite the resistance of transnational corporations and Western politicians, to work out the principles of the new international information order. Information must be honest and objective, it must help draw nations closer together rather than keep them apart. This is consonant with the concept of a comprehensive international security system put forward at the 27th CPSU Congress. Its establishment in the humanitarian sphere presupposes "cooperation in the dissemination of the ideas of peace, disarmament, and international security, a greater flow of general objective information and intercourse between peoples for the purpose of learning more about one another." The International Programme for the Development of Communication also aims at helping the developing countries build up mass communication systems of their own and train national personnel for them.



The ancient Lebanese city of Tyre, which the U.N. Security Council has proclaimed part of the heritage of mankind, is threatened with destruction. UNESCO is leading the campaign to save it. The remains of the Greek colonnade above are one of the city's priceless archeological monuments.

Cooperation and Mutual Understanding

This is by no means the only international programme being carried out within the framework or under the auspices of UNESCO. The activity of the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission, the successes achieved in the implementation of the International Geological Programme, the Geological Correlation Programme and the Man and Biosphere Programme are widely known.

The Conservation Commission of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers has recently discussed our country's contribution to the Man and Biosphere Programme. Soviet scientists are involved in implementing all the programme's 14 projects. More than 500 Soviet institutes and other research bodies have joined in the effort. Given truly universal cooperation in carrying out this programme, mankind will be able to work out, in the foreseable future, a strategy of worldwide ecological control which will help eliminate the at present acute conflict between man, scientific and technological progress (including the peaceful utilization of atomic energy), on the one hand, and the environment (the biosphere included), on the other.

UNESCO is paying particular attention to the spread of scientific and technical information. This work is being done under the General Information Programme and the Intergovernmental Informatics Programme (the latter started last year).

Speaking of UNESCO's work under new conditions, it must be noted that alongside the implementation of traditional international cooperation programmes, protecting mankind's cultural heritage, the organization has suggested that the World Decade for Cultural Development be started in 1988—a decade of action to preserve and enrich world culture and civilization and protect it against the ruinous effects of commercial mass culture.

In a word, UNESCO has not only a rich past, but important and interesting prospects as well. Whether these prospects become a reality depends, of course, on how prepared the organization's members are for cooperation and understanding. The socialist countries at any rate will not be found wanting.

G. URANOV,
Deputy Chairman, Secretary-General
U.S.S.R. Commission for UNESCO

Photo from UNESCO Courier

DIFFERENT OPINIONS

MISSILES: FOR AND AGAINST

I think that the "peace movement" is a movement born of fear. In the autumn of 1983, those who were against NATO's "double-track decision" predicted all but the end of the world if medium-range missiles were deployed in our country. Yet the government did not listen to the panic-mongers: such questions are not decided on street corners. Missiles were brought in and I think that our country has become more secure. Before that, the Soviet Union had the monopoly on medium-range missiles in Europe and we lived in a low-security zone, so to speak. The implementation of the "double-track decision" restored the balance, that was all.

I do not believe that Pershing 2s and cruises are first-strike weapons hard as they try to convince me of it. To my mind, these missiles, like all the other nuclear weapons for that matter, are merely a deterrence. Perhaps some people do not like this word but the strategy of deterrence pursued by NATO has maintained peace in Europe for 40 years now. We should take care to preserve peace in the future as well and that is why we need missiles.

It is also important to strengthen our alliance with the U.S. Who would believe us if we did not keep our word? If America decided to pull out its troops from Western Europe, the F.R.G., like all the other West European countries, would be easy prey for the Soviet Union, and we must avoid this at all costs.

Moscow is now offering to eliminate all American and Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe and many people are taking the bait. But then there are Soviet SS-20 missiles in Asia and they can be shipped to Europe at short notice.

I do not believe in disarmament talks: they have lasted for years and even decades without any results. Even if some agreements were reached in the past, they did nothing to check the arms race. Reagan's idea of developing an ABM defence system is more to my liking. If such a system is built, there will be no need for nuclear weapons and I do not think it to be science fiction.

Wolfgang SCHMIDER
Frankfort on the Main, F.R.G.

Our government rationalizes every new arms buildup programme by invoking the "threat from the East." Incidentally, before Pershing 2s and cruise missiles began to be deployed, public opinion had been conditioned accordingly. A good deal was said at the time to the effect that the American missiles were a counterbalance to the Soviet SS-20 missiles. Yet recently, Frankfurter Allgemeine, which was among the propagators of that story, made the revealing admission that the introduction of Pershings in the F.R.G. had not been linked in any way to the deployment of Soviet missiles. "NATO had a need for advanced medium-range weapons even when there were no SS-20s at all," the newspaper said.

The newspaper made this admission, however, merely to warn the government against any agreement under which the American missiles could be withdrawn from the F.R.G. But there is no need to press our government on this matter: it is all for the "missilization" of the country. That is why when the Soviet Union sugg... American m... Europe be ... that it could ... because So... systems wer... and Czech... Moscow cla... American ... from Euro... need for th... F.R.G. gove... that a threa... missiles in ... there also ... weapons in ...

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Photo by M...

FOLLOW-UP

ON THE SIDELINES OF LIFE

I was very interested in Comrade Zhitomirsky's reply to V. Antonov in "Taking Up a Point," New Times 52/85. (The question was why should anyone feel sorry for unemployed in the West if they were paid quite decent benefits—**Ed.**) I must admit that when I read the question I was filled with rage that anyone should be so lacking in understanding. Then, of course, common sense prevailed and I realized how fortunate people are, living in a socialist world, who cannot conceive the terrible degradation of spirit suffered by those who are unemployed. How wonderful not to have to stand in line at a food bank or to live in poverty in the midst of affluence....

The reason I am recalling all this is that my son was unemployed at that time and things were very unhappy here. His unemployed insurance was due to run out in a few months and then he would have to go on welfare (the "dole" as you call it). I remember so well him saying "Oh, Mum, I can't cash a welfare cheque in the bank." Fortunately, a job did come up but to get him to apply for it required practically a family scene —much pleading, screaming, etc., on my part—he had lost all self-confidence. It has taken him nearly four years of steady work to overcome the terrible feeling of inferiority and lack of self-worth. I think the scare will last a lifetime....

Renie McCALLUM
Courtenay, B.C., Canada

Mrs McCallum enclosed a few newspaper clippings from the Vancouver Sun, describing an experiment by Emery Barnes, a B.C. member of the legislature, who decided to try to liv... allowance. ... be decent, ... Barnes had ... off the top ... rent for a r... bathroom; t... hotplate, ho... palace con... Barnes said ... other rooms ... lars for a mo... only afford ... cents per ... cost 70 cent... think twice ... thing. Each ...

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Franz MAYER
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When I hear the West harping on "the threat from the East," my feelings are hard to describe. If the Soviet people were only capable of evil and revenge, as many West Europeans are being led to believe, our fathers and grandfathers could have avenged their wartime grief and the deaths of their families long ago, way back in 1945. Yet it was Soviet soldiers who gave food to hungry German children in postwar Berlin. What revenge and what threats are they talking about?

Yet they continue with maniacal insistence to whip up war hysteria and escalate the arms race, apparently forgetting that nuclear weapons today are not a cure-all. You cannot hide behind a fence of missiles. Many statesmen and scientists both in our country and abroad are pointing out more and more often that quantitative changes in the tools of war have long become qualitative. Today's computerized nuclear missiles may accidentally provoke a war which would be impossible to check or contain.

Bringing more and more nuclear weapons to Western Europe, the American military say that they are looking after the safety of their NATO allies. But does the growing risk of nuclear catastrophe mean safety?

Our country is doing everything it can to make it possible for mankind to enter the 21st century in peace. Such is the greatest humanism of the Soviet system.

A. GERTSOVSKY
Tikhoretsk, U.S.S.R.

Rocky V

Can eleven boxers be K.O.'d with a single blow? Yes, it appears, they can. And it doesn't have to be a Rocky IV who, as all U.S. cinemagoers know, is a superman of fantastic strength who fights the super-crafty Russians. All it takes is the U.S. Secretary of Defence.

Indeed, with one stroke of his strategic pen Caspar Weinberger who holds that title today, made short shrift of nine boxers and two coaches. If they had been Russians, that would have been more or less natural. But they are honest-to-goodness Americans whose only fault was that they planned to go to the Goodwill Games in Moscow. However, Rocky V, as we shall dub our hero, said no. And so the U.S. amateur boxing team and their coaches have been obliged to unpack their bags. Technically they are serving in the armed forces, which means Rocky V is their superior. In a special statement he announced he had rejected the request for Defence Department personnel to take part in the Goodwill Games. He said operational rules forbade military or civilians from doing anything that would be definitely political in substance or that would seek to give advantage or privilege to any department.

For Rocky V's department good will is most unprofitable, and clashes with its trillion-dollar budget. It demagnetizes, demobilizes, demoralizes. Indeed, if they allow themselves to relax to be lulled by good will, Americans might begin to dream of a world in which the Pentagon did not exist. How could they forget the Soviet military threat? That, Rocky V is convinced, would have the U.S. "engaged in hostilities—hostilities wrought by an adversary that might perceive us weak enough to encourage their attack." From top confidential sources the Pentagon learned that Russian boxers were already rubbing their gloves to attack its lads. After all, the whole world knows that in the modernization of boxing gloves the U.S.S.R. has far outstripped the U.S., as Congress is niggardly with its allocations for the Pentagon. It forgets that, as Rocky V put it, "because we are the symbol of the success of democratic institutions, because we stand for fulfilment of human aspirations by non-violent means, and because, by renouncing violence... we become more vulnerable to them."

The ban imposed on American participation in boxing contests in Moscow under the slogan of good will is prompted by the urge to stimulate ill will which has its own games and which envisages a Soviet-American nuclear-space missile contest. As Rocky V once put it, "the harsh truths of our historic confrontation with the U.S.S.R. are not pleasant for many of our fellow citizens to swallow, much less digest."

Not pleasant, they may well be, but perhaps there is no need

to swallow and digest them. Perhaps it would be worthwhile to see to it that confrontation should not transcend the limits of peaceful competition, whether in the boxing ring, on the volleyball court, or elsewhere: in short, wherever people of good will meet, argue, talk, compete and get to know each other. So as to pull all together in the effort to win peace now and in the future. All we need is good will.

V. TSOPPI

Cartoon by Y. Ivanov

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I have to start thinking about how much money I am going to spend...." Having voluntarily gone to the lowest depths, Barnes called attention to the acute social problems of the country. He saw at first hand the plight of many people pushed onto the sidelines of life. Exhausted and dispirited, the experimentor came to the conclusion that "You need a strong character and a lot of willpower not to give in and accept these conditions as inevitable."

But does every unemployed person have such traits of character? Mrs McCallum's letter shows that this is not the case.

JOURNEY INTO THE 21st CENTURY

In recent years the modifier "political" has come to be increasingly applied to literary genres—the political novel, political detective fiction, political drama, and so on. And understandably so, considering the growing interest in international affairs, in the outlook for the world. The editors of New Times offer the reader a form of treatment of topics of public interest which so far has not gained wide currency—what might be called political fantasy.

But, it may be asked, does this not have a negative connotation? Often enough politicians let their imagination run riot, close their eyes to reality, lay themselves open to accusations of utopianism and the like. All this does happen. But there is also fantasy that helps to see the perspective ahead, to obtain a glimpse of the future, to visualize what it holds out for humanity. It was with the words, "We must have vision!" that Lenin at the beginning of the century led the Bolsheviks into battle for freedom and revolutionary renewal. Much of that vision has become firmly established in the world. Why should we deny ourselves the right to dream of a nuclear-free world? All the more so since the Soviet Union has already laid on the world negotiating table a plan for eliminating nuclear weapons by the beginning of the 21st century and thereby delivering humanity from the fearsome threat of self-destruction. This concrete, thoroughly considered programme has already evoked a worldwide response. Regrettably, however, the Western powers are in no haste to discuss it, although the Soviet Union has repeatedly urged them to do so. The 27th CPSU Congress defined realization of this plan as the central task of Soviet foreign policy in the coming years.

In order to give a better idea of the full meaning of the three-stage Soviet plan first set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev on January 15 this year, New Times has asked prominent scholars, writers and political scientists of different countries to **try to visualize what the 21st century would be like if the Soviet plan were realized and the world rid of the nuclear incubus.**

In this issue we begin the publication of the answers received. We invite all who would like to air their views, whatever they may be, on this subject, to join in our Journey Into the 21st Century Symposium.

We give the floor first to Professor GERHARD KADE, now residing in West Berlin. He has been associated with many F.R.G. research institutions and is widely known for his studies on the subject of disarmament. He was the initiator of the publication in 1981 of the book "Generals for Peace," a collection of his interviews with prominent NATO military men who had awakened to the dangers of the U.S. nuclear arms buildup policy. Professor Kade is Vice-President of the International Institute for Peace in Vienna.

Europe Without Nuclear Weapons

Professor GERHARD KADE

Europe at the end of 1999. The last stage of the disarmament programme advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev on January 15, 1986, has been carried out. For some years now the continent where the bulk of the nuclear arsenals was once concentrated has been free of mass destruction weapons. Think of it: until quite recently people here lived in constant fear of a nuclear conflict; the "logic of nuclear deterrence" laid its imprint on all spheres of life, and security in effect teetered on the brink of the abyss. Now the peoples of Europe are able to breathe easier—at last there is no longer any danger of their continent, with its great cultural traditions and scientific and technological achievements, being destroyed in a nuclear holocaust.

The anti-war movement in the European countries, which for the past decades fought with growing intensity for disarmament, has achieved its goal. The preconditions have been created for establishing a European security community. The logic of the nuclear age has been overcome. The logic of partnership, coexistence and cooperation is asserting itself. Solidarity of European nations with one another and with the peoples of other continents has become a moral force. The abolition of mass destruction weapons has resulted in radical changes in politics and led to the awakening of

individuals and nations to their responsibility to one another and for one another. This means that stable political, economic and social structures are taking shape at the beginning of the 21st century.

The elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons and the prohibition of non-nuclear armaments have opened the way to the stage-by-stage reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces. This in turn has created the conditions for a new and unprecedented system of security in Europe that will be based—in both military blocs—exclusively on defensive weapons systems. This could be followed by the disbanding of military alliances. Sovereignty is strengthened and each country has greater freedom of action in the sphere of security policy.

What does this mean? The European collective security system could set up its own specific all-European body, after the pattern of the United Nations, which would have its all-European political agencies not only responsible for military security on the continent in the narrow sense of the term, but, like the specialized agencies of the United Nations, would coordinate and uphold the economic, social, scientific, technological and cultural interests of Europe as a whole.

For instance, in the economic sphere there would be a sharp growth of trade between the socialist and the capitalist countries. It will be rid of the burden of all the discriminatory practices of the period of power politics pursued by the United States. There will be no need for restrictions on the export of technology such as were formerly imposed on European countries by COCOM, the Coordinating Committee for control of exports to socialist countries. In a word, there will be a normal mutually beneficial exchange of technology and a stable supply of raw materials to the West European countries. Thus, their economic development will become less dependent on political processes in the raw-material-supplying Third World countries as well as on economic fluctuations on the capitalist world market.

Needless to say, all-European cooperation in the nuclear-free age is not limited to the exchange of goods and technology. The scaling down of confrontation which was largely due to the accumulation of mass destruction weapons leads to the expansion of scientific and cultural exchanges. When the nuclear age mentality is overcome, there will be greater understanding of the social processes under way in countries with different political structures.

The system of collective security in Europe, based on long-term economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation, will make the continent the initiator of the solution of global problems. All-European cooperation in environmental protection, the use of outer space for peaceful purposes, and in other fields will gradually extend to numerous scientific and economic projects for Third World countries.

And so there are no more nuclear weapons in Europe. This means that the 21st century will begin in a climate of peaceful coexistence and equal cooperation among the peoples in resolving global political, economic and ecological problems. Europe will play a leading part in this process. This, however, does not mean that it lays claim to the role of leader in relation to the peoples of other continents. Certainly not. Europe, which for decades was weighed down by the memory of two world wars and the threat of a nuclear war, will now, relieved of that burden, be able to become the initiator of regional systems of collective security the world over.

■

What Professor Kade had to say about Europe as a whole is concretized as applied to the F.R.G. by Dr JÜRGEN REUSCH, Assistant Director of the Institute for Marxist Studies in Frankfort on the Main.

The F.R.G. Can Only Benefit by It

Doctor JÜRGEN REUSCH

I should like to begin by saying that there is perhaps no other country in the world so oversaturated with armaments, so crammed with nuclear, conventional and chemical weapons, as the F.R.G. This prompts one to give thought to the benefits that could accrue to the Federal Republic from the realization of the Soviet proposals.

First of all, realization of the Gorbachev plan would mean the removal from the country of the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles and also the corresponding reduction and abolition of the Soviet SS-20 missiles. If the Soviet proposals were accepted the Soviet operational-tactical missiles of increased range sited on the territory of the G.D.R. as a counterweight to the NATO missiles could be done away with. Since the Soviet programme envisages the elimination at the second stage of the nuclear arsenals of France and Britain and also of all tactical nuclear weapons with a radius of up to 1,000 kilometres, the unprecedented prospect of getting rid of nuclear weapons and becoming the centre of a nuclear-free zone in Europe will open before the F.R.G.

To rid the F.R.G. in the near future of nuclear weapons means not only to remove the looming threat of nuclear war, but also to relieve the state budget of the burden of military spending and to do away with an infrastructure that is ruining the environment.

In 1986 the F.R.G. is to pay NATO 3.6 billion marks, the lion's share of which goes to finance American institutions and installations involved in preparing a nuclear catastrophe. In the event of nuclear disarmament this money would be saved. Many of the 250,000 American soldiers in the Federal Republic could return home. In my opinion, no one but the drug pushers and pimps would regret that. A large part of the country's territory, now occupied by foreign troops—an area larger than the entire Saarland—would be vacated. Quiet would once again reign over the two thirds of the country's air space now rent by the ear-splitting roar of low-flying aircraft. In short, not only nuclear weapons as such but also their negative concomitants would disappear.

The results of nuclear disarmament would be even more tangible for the F.R.G. if the Soviet proposals on chemical weapons were to be realized. It is common knowledge that the U.S. resumed the production of binary shells and

The 21st century must not see the end civilization. . . .

bombs in '982. They are intended for siting in the F.R.G. and for use from its territory. If the Bonn government were to respond to the Soviet proposals, the plan advanced by the F.R.G. Social Democratic Party and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (G.D.R.) for a zone free of chemical weapons could become the reality.

It should be borne in mind that the Gorbachev programme extends also to conventional armaments. It envisages agreed and verifiable reductions in conventional armaments and armed forces. This too is by no means a matter of indifference to us. The Bundeswehr is today one of the most well-equipped armies in the world. Its strength is 495,000 men. According to official figures, the country's military budget this year amounts to 50 billion marks, but experts estimate that the actual spending is closer to 72 billion. What would non-nuclear disarmament mean for the F.R.G.? A freeze on military spending would make it possible to save roughly 1.5 billion marks a year. Moreover, disarmament would surely begin with offensive weapons—Leopard-2 tanks, the Tornado medium-range bomber, the Jäger-90 fighter now at the development stage, and Class 122 frigates. The saving this year alone would amount to more than 6 billion marks, and through 1988, over 50 billion. And if all the expenditure items in the 1986 military budget earmarked not for defence but for aggressive plans were cancelled, the saving would amount to 19 billion marks.

Further. There would be no need for the proposed equipment of the Bundeswehr with the latest third-generation weapons and involvement in the latest American military doctrines. Experts estimate that the Federal Republic's expenditures on armaments will run by 1997 to the huge sum of 500 billion marks. This money could be used for employment programmes, to provide new jobs, for switching military production over to civilian, and other peaceful purposes.

The numerical strength of the Bundeswehr would be cut. Why keep 495,000 men under arms if all aggressive plans were cancelled and the Bonn ruling circles at long last realized that no one is threatening the Federal Republic?

Owing to the low birth rate in the 1960s there is now a shortage of new recruits, and it is hence proposed to lengthen the period of military service. In the event of disarmament this too would be unnecessary. The important thing is that if we want to resolve our pressing economic and social problems and remove the danger of "limited" war in Europe, we must move forward along the road towards disarmament.

The Federal Republic will only gain by this. ■

... It must be a century of happiness and prosperity.

Drawings by Otakar Stembera (Czechoslovakia)

The next contributor to our symposium is the well-known Japanese science fiction writer SAKYO KOMATSU. He is best known in Japan and abroad for his novel "The End of Japan" and the film of the same name which has been shown in many countries. He does not seek to provide an escape from reality. On the contrary, he invariably reflects in his writings the basic problems of our time. Our Tokyo correspondent Yuri Tavrovsky asked him to share his views with our readers.

At the Very Highest Level

SAKYO KOMATSU

In my book "The End of Japan" I wanted to warn my compatriots against being too self-assured and complacent, not to forget the fragility of the nation's well-being and the possibility of sharp changes for the worse, even of disaster. It is about a cataclysm predicted by some scientists—the sinking of the Japanese islands into the ocean as a result of earthquakes. But there are even worse disasters and they threaten not only the Japanese and the Russians, the Chinese and the Australians, the Americans or any other nation. I refer to the nuclear weapon.

I do not think the idea of a world

without nuclear weapons to be a sheer fantasy, a dream that can never come true. Nuclear weapons can be done away with, true, with great difficulty. In the West and the East there are colossal stockpiles of nuclear weapons that have cost billions of dollars and rubles. These arsenals are only the tip of the pyramid of even more colossal war machines. This monstrous pyramid is harder to destroy than to build. I see two ways to put an end to the tyranny of the atom harnessed to war. The first is a frontal attack. That is what the new Soviet leadership is doing. Every Soviet peace initiative is a blow at this sinister pyramid. Even if at first glance these blows do not cause any cracks or fissures in the pyramid, even though outwardly they do not appear to shake the foundations of the gigantic structure, internal changes are nevertheless taking place which sooner or later will cause it to collapse. One such blow is the moratorium on nuclear testing. Another is the three-stage programme for the elimination of nuclear weapons. Still another, the Geneva meeting of the leaders of the two great powers.

The second promising way does not exclude but complements the first—it is a roundabout way, so to say. Without waiting for the main problem in the West-East confrontation to be resolved, existing forms of cooperation between them should be expanded and new forms developed. Here is where I would like to indulge in a little fantasy. Take cooperation in outer space, to begin with. I have met the astronaut Thomas Stafford who was in command of the American crew during the joint Soyuz-Apollo flight. He told me about his Moscow cosmonaut friends. He said the Russians and the Americans quickly find a common language. They are much alike both in appearance and emotionally. I can visualize new Soviet-American flights to distant planets, the establishment of joint space stations, entire space laboratories and industrial complexes that would make life on earth richer. The World Ocean is also a splendid field for cooperation. And what a great deal could be accomplished in the Antarctic! And what of the opportunities that could be opened by the harnessing of solar energy, biotechnology, information science!

To remain in the world of fantasy, I should like to suggest that a meeting of the Soviet and American leaders be held at the very highest level—in outer space! That the spaceships "Gorbachev" and "Reagan" be orbited, docked and not brought back to Earth until the President and the General Secretary have agreed on a clear and precise timetable for an end to nuclear tests, for the destruction of missiles and nuclear bombs, type after type. Not quite realistic? But, then, I'm not a politician, I'm a science fiction writer. ■

The last participant in our symposium in this issue is the well-known American writer ISAAC ASIMOV. He is the author of more than 330 books which are read with equal interest by teenagers who dream of going on space flights and their perfectly serious parents. Here is what he told our New York correspondent Andrei Arkhipov.

When Halley's Comet Comes Round Again

ISAAC ASIMOV

What happens to us in the 21st century depends entirely on what we do now. Perhaps when Halley's comet comes round again 76 years hence it will find Earth a planet completely rid of the danger of nuclear war. A planet whose inhabitants are engaged in space exploration, setting up settlements in outer space and mining minerals on the moon. A planet all of whose peoples have joined in building hospitals and clinics, laboratories, factories and observatories in orbit. I am certain that all this is possible.

Unfortunately, there is also the possibility—one shudders to think of it—that Halley's comet will find the Earth reduced by nuclear war to wasteland with few, if any, survivors, a planet in the grip of nuclear winter which I would not care to describe, or even to imagine.

I would say that every normal person wants to see our Earth a planet of peace, not a radioactive waste dump. But not always can people get what they want. We have no right to sit back with folded arms and wait. Things will not come right of themselves. It is necessary to fight, and fight hard. No one will bring us a peaceful future on a silver platter.

I do not believe it is possible to devise a perfect shield that could prevent nuclear war. The President's Strategic Defence Initiative will in the final analysis serve merely as cover for the deployment of offensive weapons in outer space. The only possible way to prevent nuclear war is to abolish all nuclear weapons. We have no use for them. I would like to see both sides, the United States and the Soviet Union, and indeed all nations, agree that henceforth all questions at issue will be resolved through negotiation, through a search for compromise solutions. This may be idealism, but we simply have no other choice.

In all my writings, science fiction and others, I try to show that the optimal way is a considered, thoughtful approach to problems. In my books there is very little violence, for the use of force is not productive of rational conclusions. In Westerns the good guy is always quicker on the draw than the bad guy. But in real life the bad guy is likely to shoot first. It is better not to shoot at all. The leading character of one of my books says that violence is the last resort of the incompetent.

In 1942 I published my laws of robot technology. The first law is that the robot must not harm a human being or stand by and allow him to be harmed. The second law is that the robot must obey the orders given him by man except when this conflicts with the first law. The third law is that the robot must protect its own existence except when this conflicts with the first and second laws.

Regrettably, there is already talk about a robot-guided weapon and about robots whose chief function is to kill people. But if we create a robot capable of killing human beings it must be able to decide whom to kill and whom not to kill. I am not sure that such decisions should be left to technology.

Like any other human being I do not want nuclear war, I want all those who have access to nuclear weapons to realize clearly and conclusively that nuclear war cannot be won. It will mean defeat for all. But peace can be won. In that case we all will be the victors.

■

On July 11 the Mongolian People's Republic celebrates its National Day

Golden Nail

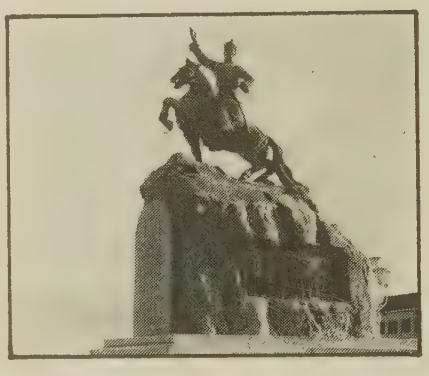
I struck it lucky in Mongolia the moment I arrived. My next door neighbour in the hotel was Soviet cosmonaut Vladimir Dzhanibekov, who had come to Ulan Bator for an international scientific conference. Naturally, he was accompanied everywhere by his Mongolian "star brother," Gurragcha. An out-going man with a ready smile, Gurragcha wins you over at first sight. Yet there is one thing about him that might exasperate a journalist: he is too modest. I pestered him with questions about his life but all in vain, until he finally said: "Let me tell you the story of our country and then you'll understand my lifestory."

In the heart of the capital there is a monument to the founder of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Mongolian state, Sukhe Bator. "If we unite in a single desire and pool our energies, no goal will be beyond our reach and we will be able to achieve anything and to learn everything," reads his behest inscribed on the foundation, a piece of rock, on which a rider spurs his steed on towards the sunrise.

But 65 years ago, when a people's revolution occurred in the country, hardly anyone could have imagined that a nomadic rider could ever shake off the pull of gravity. Anyway, Gurragcha, a boy from a family of nomadic cattle-breeders, never even dreamt of it. Like any other boy his age, he grazed sheep and rode horses in summer and went to school in winter. But when he grew up, he stepped from the stirrup on to the ramp of a spaceship, as a poet put it. This was far from easy both for the man, who had moved from a yurt to a spaceship, and for the country, which had leapt from feudalism into socialism, bypassing capitalism.

"The world was living in the 20th century. Europe had long forgotten the Middle Ages but Mongolia, once mighty but now in decline, was in deep slumber," Gurragcha told me. "It had fallen back hundreds of years in its political and economic development and there seemed to be no force capable of breaking the triple chains of colonialism, feudalism and lamaism that fettered the country.

"But there emerged such a force. The thunder of the people's wrath rang



out and a revolutionary explosion freed the country from slavery.

"The revolution was the starting point for progress in every field. It marked the beginning of the Mongolian people's rise from feudal backwardness to socialism.

"The fate of the country is my fate. The mighty force of socialism lifted me up from the yurt into space."

A Song of the Steppes

Most Mongols, like Gurragcha, begin their lifestories with the words, "I was born into a nomadic family."

Avirmid looked after cows all her life. When state farms were set up and nomads reverted to a settled way of life, she was put in charge of a dairy farm. Inspired by trust, she revolutionized Mongolian cattle-breeding: she moved the animals from seasonal pastures to sheds, organized the stocking of fodder for the winter and established rations.

The Mongolian steppe is boundless, stretching beyond the horizon in every direction, but the fame of Avirmid's farm was spreading faster than the wind and soon people who wanted to see it with their own eyes began pitching their yurts next to the shed. The filmmakers came to help: their documentary, "The Country's Best Dairy-Maid," was shown across the expanses of Mongolia, travelling from yurt to yurt.

Avirmid was elected to the Great People's Hural (parliament) and became the first woman to be awarded the title Hero of Labour.

When Urtnasan had finished school, people expected her to follow in her mother's footsteps: she was indeed very good with cows, caring for them lovingly and even singing to them as she set down with her pail to milk them. And she was really a good singer; not only her family but Mongolia's famed performer, Luvsanzhamtsyn, who was travelling round the country talent-spotting, recognized her talent. She took the shy girl to a folk dancing and singing group. Then Urtnasan graduated cum laude from an opera studio and went to Bulgaria to be trained in the class of the well-known Bulgarian teacher Khristo Brymbarov. He told the girl, "You must have been born a Cio-Cio-San."

She first sang the part of Madame Butterfly at an international competition of young opera singers in Sofia. Then one success followed another: a triumph in Ulan Bator, an invitation to the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow and a long tour of the Soviet Union, which eventually took her to Kishinev. Urtnasan was very nervous before her appearance in that city, the home town of Maria Bieshu, the world's best Cio-Cio-San. What would she say about the Mongolian singer? After the curtain fell, Bieshu came to Urtnasan's dressing room and told her, "You are a born Cio-Cio-San." Newspaper critics wrote: "Urtnasan, a People's Artist of Mongolia, passed the test with flying colours. Her movements and intonation, with their characteristic Oriental gentleness, are different from the European manner and make the part look and sound more like the authentic Japanese Cio-Cio-San."

Today Urtnasan sings leading parts in most productions by the Ulan Bator opera. Before every premiere, she goes out on to the steppe and brings her mother to the capital. The old woman in a green silk folk costume sits quietly in the front row of the stalls. When the opera is over, the audience usually gives a standing ovation to both, the best singer and the best dairy-maid in the country, the daughter and the mother.

"Haven't you forgotten how to milk cows?" I joked when I met the singer.

"By no means," she said. "Whenever I visit mother I give her a hand."

The Best of Sciences

On the outskirts of Ulan Bator is a building resembling the headquarters of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in Moscow. It is the office of an international geological expedition, set up by CMEA to give assistance to Mongolia. Geologists from socialist countries have for some 10 years now been looking jointly for minerals in a vast territory of 35,000 square kilometres.

Ten geological parties made up of Soviet, Hungarian, Bulgarian and Cuban specialists, among others, are at

work in Mongolia. But three quarters of the personnel are Mongolians who are learning from their friends. Young geologist Zhargalsaikhan believes that this close cooperation is proving very productive. The minerals found by the geologists will be shared by Mongolia with the entire socialist community.

The two words "nairamdal—druzhba," one Mongolian, the other Russian, are known to everyone in Mongolia. They denote the international teams and crews in which Mongolian and Soviet specialists work together, sharing responsibility under integrated work programmes. There are more than 900 such work collectives today and they have proved an efficient way of sharing know-how and skills. Soviet specialists are training replacements for themselves, national personnel capable of coping with the most difficult tasks.

In the past ten years the number of Soviet specialists at Mongolian construction projects has been halved but the scale of the work has trebled. The Ulan Bator railway, initially run by Soviet specialists, is now being operated entirely by Mongolians. More than 600 economic projects have been built in Mongolia with Soviet assistance over the past 25 years. The republic today produces as much output in a week as it did in the whole of 1940: such was the impetus given to this once backward country by socialism and fraternal friendship among nations.

The golden emblem "soembo," the symbol of freedom and independence on the national flag of Mongolia, is framed by two upright rectangles. Mongolians explain: two friends together are stronger than stone walls. They also say: "Friendship is the best of sciences," and this folk wisdom has been tried and tested by the whole history of socialist construction in the country and found to hold good.

A Shining Star Over the Country

They say that the power of words is boundless. But one is hard put to find the right words to describe the Gobi Desert. The Mongolians distinguish 33 Gobis: yellow, red, blue, etc. This is not mere imagination because the Gobi changes with every kilometre.

As little as 20-30 years ago a trek across the Gobi was believed a risky venture, calling for remarkable courage and staunchness. Now one can visit the great desert as a tourist: the Three Beauties camping site is full of travellers from Western Europe, Japan, the U.S. and other countries all the year round. Many are attracted by the opportunity to see the famous remains of pre-historic animals or hunt wild rams and mountain goats, but most come to the desert to get away from the hustle and bustle of our age.

Not long before our plane touched down on the sand next to the yurts, in my naiveté I had questioned senior officials of the South Gobi district about what they were doing to develop the desert. They clearly did not understand me: "Why should it be developed? The desert must be preserved as it is."

The Gobi has actually become a unique gigantic nature preserve, in which people are seeking to live in harmony with nature as they did hundreds and thousands of years ago.

The republic's famous camel-breeder Choinkhor was born and spent his life amidst the low Gobi hills. It was there that he met the beautiful Zhud, who bore his children; they are not going to leave the desert either.

It is a day's journey to the next yurt by jeep and twice as long by camel but Choinkhor's family do not feel lost in the sands. A radio and TV set tell them what is happening in the world and their farm managers, a physician, a mobile shop and a zootechnician regularly come to see them. Their visits are special occasions, of course, and any guest in the desert is welcome.

The whole family came out of the yurt to meet me and I was given a traditional welcoming cup of kumys and the seat of honour.

With the Mongolians, it is the visitor who begins by telling everything about himself. When I told my hosts that I had met Gurragcha, their questions were endless. The cosmonaut is held in especially high esteem here because, flying over the desert, he sent words of greetings from outer space to the Gobi cattle-breeders.

But I for my part wanted to learn about the people there. Before answering my questions, Choinkhor took time to think. I knew the Mongolian custom: "Make no haste if you have not done anything praiseworthy and even less if you have." And Choinkhor has done a good deal. He was a shock worker in the last two five-year-plan periods and had fulfilled his production commitments in honour of the recent Party congress: he had got more wool from each of his 350 camels than any other breeder on the state farm.

After a pause, the host said: "We live well. Now a pump is raising water: we need almost a small lake every day. The yurt is taken from pasture to pasture by truck."

After another pause, he continued: "The weather, however, lets us down. The sun has scorched every blade of grass. The camels go twenty kilometres looking for food, and then try and find them! And fodder for the winter is hard to stock up."

After a hearty supper of camel meat and salt tea for dessert, over which we talked unhurriedly, everyone went to bed. The distant stars looked down through the open top of the yurt. Among them I identified the North Star. The Mongolians, however, have another name for it, the Golden Nail. Old Choinkhor thinks that Gurragcha drove it even faster into the sky so that it should not fall, as other stars do on August nights, but shine forever for men. I did not try to talk my esteemed host out of his belief.

Now, whenever I see the North Star from the window of my flat in Moscow, I recall those for whom it shines over the boundless expanses of Mongolia.

Valery KONDAKOV

Ulan Bator — Moscow

All Mongolia knows the weaver S. Tserenjargal, Hero of Labour and deputy to the People's Great Hural.

Mongolpress photo

Man of Yesterday

The 50th, jubilee congress of the Christian Social Union held in Nuremberg celebrated the 25th anniversary of the undivided sway in the party of its chairman Franz Josef Strauss in grand style — with beer, sausages and panegyrics. In his programme speech the hero of the day called for another crusade against the "Red danger."

One can easily imagine how lavishly Franz Josef Strauss was showered with gifts by his many industrialist, financier, and land baron friends on his 70th birthday last autumn. But there was one gift which perhaps eclipsed them all—Ronald Reagan's introduction to the book "Franz Josef Strauss—Knowledge, Views, World Outlook." In it the U.S. President described him as a remarkable man and a true friend of America who realizes that NATO is the foundation of peace in Europe and the world over and who supports the U.S. position in the alliance, and especially SDI. All this, of course, will never be forgotten. Strauss, now prime minister of Bavaria, has well earned this resounding paean of praise by his entire postwar political career.

The son of a Munich butcher, he was an assiduous pupil in secondary school and then studied Latin, Greek and Germanistics, and later history and economics, at university. In 1939 he joined the Wehrmacht. He spent two years on the Eastern front and fought at Stalingrad, where he barely escaped being trapped with the encircled nazi forces. His frostbitten feet are still a reminder of his exploits on the Don. Until the end of the war he was an oberleutenant in anti-aircraft artillery in Germany and taught at a military school in Schongau, Bavaria, where he was taken prisoner by the Americans.

This, strictly speaking, was the beginning of Strauss' career. The ambitious Bavarian, who was soon running things in the newly established administrative agencies and had founded the local organization of the Christian Social Union, at once drew the attention of the occupation authorities. An American officer named Ernest F. Hauser in particular took him under his wing. Some decades later it was to become known that Strauss' patron was an American intelligence officer working under Allen Dulles, who became director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in 1953. Hauser maintained contacts with a group of nazi industrial magnates who long before the end of the war had reached understanding with American corporations on postwar cooperation.

Few F.R.G. politicians have risen as fast as Strauss. His biographers attribute this to his "keen intelligence" and "indefatigable energy," discreetly avoiding any mention of the powerful financial and industrial quarters which literally carried the young careerist up the ladder of power and influence. Already at 38 he was a minister in Konrad Adenauer's cabinet, first minister-at-large and later Minister of Nuclear Energy, and in 1956 he became the head of the federal war office. From the very beginning he was dubbed "the minister who works with his elbows." In doing so Strauss was least of all concerned with the norms of the Christian morality of which he posed as the apostle.

Strauss' life has been an adventurous one, full of wheeling and dealing. With him politics takes precedence over morality, an observer once commented. In other words, Strauss made use of his ministerial post for shady deals which enriched the war industry magnates, without of course forgetting his own advantage. He made short shrift of those who exposed his machinations. He had only to lift a finger for the editors of the Hamburg weekly Der Spiegel who had published exposures of Adenauer's favourite minister's doings to find themselves behind bars.

The Der Spiegel case, however, turned out to be more than Strauss could handle. He had to resign from the government. Some actually wrote him off as a political figure, but this judgement proved to be too hasty. Though he lost his balance, he was promptly propped up and put back on his feet by those who have the decisive say in the Federal Republic—the omnipotent bosses of the military-industrial complex. After all, Strauss had performed great services for them. It is thanks to him that Bavaria, once a picturesque land of green valleys, snow-capped mountains and cosy old towns with their medieval churches and towers, has been turned into Western Europe's biggest producer of armaments.

The Strauss mouthpiece Bayern-Kurier once called him the "father of the West German air force." His preoccupation with the fifth ocean is not limited to his obtaining an amateur pilot's licence and flying private planes belonging to his moneyed friends as a hobby. As head of the federal war office and chairman of the CSU he has played the decisive part in the revival of the Luftwaffe. Billion-mark budget allocations, financial and tax handouts, and legal favours by the Bavarian government he heads infused new life into the Messerschmitts and Dorniers that had seemed to have been relegated to the past.

In March 1959 Strauss signed a contract for the purchase of 700 Starfighter bombers from the American Lockheed concern. The circumstances in which this deal was concluded will probably remain a secret for all time. For on the very day Strauss stepped down from the post of Defence Minister, important documents (500 files!) capable of throwing light on the transaction disappeared from the ministry's archives. But few in the F.R.G. doubt that it was a shady transaction. Moreover, the former CIA officer Hauser, who later became an agent for Lockheed and through whom the arrangements for the Starfighter deal were made, confirmed in a TV appearance in the F.R.G. in late 1975 that while the purchase of the U.S. planes was being negotiated, Lockheed transferred to the treasury of the Bavarian CSU and the personal account of its chairman 41 million marks.

The acquisition of the Starfighters and especially licences for their manufacture enabled the Bavarian aircraft concerns to skip intermediary stages and to reach an up-to-date technological level. Figuratively speaking, the Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB) firm, set up with the active participation of Strauss, "soared up" on the wings of the U.S. Lockheed firm. Today MBB is the biggest aerospace firm in the F.R.G. On the initiative of Strauss it bought from the billionaire Flick also the Krauss-Maffei tank manufacturing firm.

Strauss' touching concern for the thriving of MBB is understandable: he is a member of the firm's board, chairman of the board of its subsidiary Airbus, which turns out wide-fuselage passenger and cargo planes and belongs to the leadership of the Lufthansa airline, which buys these planes. He is truly ubiquitous. His status as a member of the board of Bayerische Vereinsbank, the fourth biggest financial institution in the Federal Republic, enables him to exercise control over the finances of the war industry firms operating in Bavaria.

The military-industrial complex is now out to go over to a new genera-

tion of strategic armaments, space weapons, skipping the nuclear phase. The ideological leader here is Strauss. "I and my political friends unconditionally welcome U.S. President Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative," he says.

Few Bonn politicians can compare with Strauss as regards zeal in putting through "star wars" plans. He makes much of the benefits accruing from scientific and technological cooperation, although even U.S. press commentators concede that the West Europeans will have to be satisfied with mere crumbs from the SDI technological table.

Incidentally, the Bavarian premier and his political friends will under no circumstances be the losers. The Bavarian concerns, and primarily MBB, are looking forward to lush profits from American orders. But they are not so naive as to overrate the possible advantages. The F.R.G. war industry interests have their own designs for the new, space phase in the arms buildup, propounding the idea of their own mini-SDI — the European Defence Initiative. What is in question is the creation of an anti-missile defence system intended to bring down missiles and aircraft by means of the latest in military technology, including the laser weapon. Strauss is one of the architects of this idea. As Der Spiegel observes, MBB has helped with the drawing up of this programme. Together with the Karl Diehl firm (its owner is a close friend of Strauss) it has already worked out a model of a laser installation to use against aerial targets.

It is noteworthy that all these plans have been synchronized with the U.S. space project. Washington leaders encourage them, recommending "docking corresponding projects with the American SDI."

"Bonn has learnt to listen to advice from Munich," Strauss once said. This advice has its roots in confidential discussions at the villas of Strauss' rich friends, or during cruises on their luxury yachts in the Mediterranean. His friends include people whose names stand for entire branches of the F.R.G. economy. Flick, who has bought Bonn parties together with their leaders, is also one of Strauss' intimates. The donations the billionaire has given the CSU run into hundreds of thousands of marks. Thus, there is no dearth of advisers as to what course the Bonn ship of state should steer. "We take part in the shaping of Bonn policy," is how Strauss has laconically described CSU influence on the ruling coalition.

Moreover, few politicians are as adept as Strauss at passing off the "advice" of the all-powerful financial and industrial groups for the "voice of the people." It is enough to hear his fiery speeches in Sonthofen or Passau — his favourite locations for oratorical exercises — to understand how ingeniously he manipulates public passions. In huge halls draped with white-and-blue Bavarian flags, to the clinking of litre-sized beer mugs and the roar of euphoric admirers, Strauss propounds the credo of those who have learned nothing from the lessons of history and harbour illusory hopes that the Reich will rise again.

Nevertheless, Strauss' personality is not as simple as it might seem. Some years ago he received Stanislav Kondrashov, political analyst of Izvestia, and myself in Munich. The conversation lasted much longer than the appointed time. Our host, who at the time led a CDU/CSU election campaign and had his eye on the Federal Chancellorship, clearly wished to make a good impression on us. Referring to the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the F.R.G., he cited the Latin formula "Pacta sunt servanda" — treaties must be observed. The reference was to the "Eastern treaties" regulating relations between the F.R.G. and socialist countries. Strauss stressed that he was for the promotion of ties with the U.S.S.R. But he would not have been true to himself had he not made a reservation as regards "German unity." In the event of "reunification," he said, Germany would not need American patronage. He rather frankly admitted that he had never been a "supporter of total dependence on America." In his 1966 book "The Grand Design" he put forward the idea of a West European alliance equal to the United States for power and influence.

Today other plans are unquestionably maturing in the mind of the Bavarian politician. What kind of plans? Let us not conjecture. One thing, however, is clear: the recommendation once made by the U.S. Newsweek in regard to Strauss — "watch him" — remains timely. Strauss is the personification of the most reactionary forces in the F.R.G. — the military-industrial complex and the state and political machine serving it. He is a continuer of the inglorious traditions of German imperialism, which still hopes to take revenge for the 20th century battles it has lost.

It is said that Strauss is in the habit of always being late, be it for sessions of the Bundestag or the Munich cabinet, for a dinner engagement or for church service. This failing acquires symbolic dimensions. The Bavarian politician also missed the train of time, which it is given to no one to stop and turn back.

A. GRIGORYANTS

Kindred souls: Franz Josef Strauss (right) and the "father" of the hydrogen bomb and SDI enthusiast Edward Teller.

Photo from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

At the Foot of Mt. Fuji

The most dangerous part of the drive begins after 60 to 90 minutes on the Tokyo-Nagoya expressway. This is not because the road narrows or there are more hairpin bends than before. It is simply that one cannot resist the temptation to look right to admire the stately Mount Fuji, the first wonder of Japan, as it emerges from behind its screen of hills.

Yet immediately the idyll gives way to a kaleidoscope of furiously smoking chimney stacks, and the revolting effluvia and an ear-splitting cacophony invade the car.

Everything here is associated with the name of this world-famous mountain. There is a stream called the Fuji that debouches into the sea. There is a road called the Western Fuji, which sheers off towards the town of Fujinomiya, whose houses back onto the dark-green terraces of tea shrubs covering the mountain's southern slopes. Where the rice paddies end a cluster of inconspicuous two-storey buildings stand in the midst of bamboo groves and newly planted cedars. This is the Managers Training School, says the wooden signboard at the entrance.

One's first impression is the strongest. On the trim lawn groups of men wearing white tunics and army-type cloth caps are visible. One is learning to walk "correctly" with stiff back and raised head, and eyes looking straight ahead. Those in another, divided into two lines, are assiduously bowing to one another, endeavouring to achieve the "correct" angle of 45 degrees. A third is learning the "Salesman song." Hoarse voices rather shouted than sang: "What we produce with the sweat of our brows should be sold with the sweat of our brows, what we produce with tears should be sold with tears. Don't be discouraged, don't lose heart, fight like a warrior." A fourth group is striking at an invisible enemy to demonstrate the resolve to overcome competitors. Almost simultaneously from the ends of the lawn orders are barked in response to which files of uniformed men race towards rooms that serve as classrooms by day and dormitories by night.

In the canteen the trainees sit in groups of 13. Each person shouts on entering: "May I come in?" Having divided the food into equal shares, the monitor commands "Attention!" upon which all 13 press hands to hips and chorus "Thank you!" The meal, which consists of a very thin macaroni soup, a dish of coarsely boiled rice and salted cabbage, and a cup of green tea, is soon over. It ends with the same bows and shouts of "Attention" and "Thank you."

Trooping out, each person necessarily shouts "Sorry!" The instructors perform the same ritual. Like the managers of any Japanese firm, on the job they eat the same meals and wear the same uniforms as their subordinates. The only difference is in the chronometers they wear slung around their necks, plus the absence of "ribbons of shame" on the tunic. On the first day of the 13-day course each trainee gets 17 such ribbons, which he must get rid of by the time he graduates. When I arrived it was graduation day for the 161st class of the now seven-year-old Managers Training School. Still most of the 80 trainees sported on their tunics from three to five of these blue ribbons each of which spelled a failed test.

The tests started right after dinner. In one room the examiners checked how well the trainees had learnt to speak "correctly" on the phone. The instructor kept strict watch on how concisely and politely the trainee answered the questions put. A beaming-faced youth "correctly" bowing himself out emerged to fall at once into the embraces of his fellows who were agitatedly hopping from foot to foot by the door. As the monitor unpinned the "ribbon of shame" upon which the word "telephone" was also inscribed, the next trainee went in.

Outside the next door trainees were swotting up on "Executive Job Responsibility," one of whose rules, all of which had to be learned by rote, ran: "When you, the executive, allow yourself to feel antipathy from your subordinates, you must immediately dissociate yourself from those who assault their superiors. . . . There is no value in sympathy. To think that you will be liked by your subordinates is wishful thinking. To band together and attack your superiors is a dishonour."

Even on the steps of the iron stairway trainees whose tunics were adorned with "ribbons of shame" couldn't stop walking up and down. Perspiring freely and wiping his blurred glasses from time to time, a young trainee dinned away: "Whatever hardships confront me, I will not surrender my objective, working until late at night, to the best of my ability to achieve my objectives with unremitting strength of will."

I took myself to the school division where newly arrived "recruits" were going through a preparatory session. Even though I was only halfway through the bamboo grove and rice paddies, I could already distinctly hear shouts of "Good Morning!" though the sun, which had now sunk to the foot of Mount Fuji, most conclusively indicated that night was near. Still, the shouts of "Good Morning!" were endlessly repeated, getting louder all the time. Trainees in brand-new tunics with all 17 "ribbons of shame" in place stood at the ready. Next came instruction in how to bow and enunciate "correctly."

The "recruits" will have many hurdles to take. In pairs they will have to undertake a 20-kilometre trek across the foothills of Mount Fuji to "strengthen the spirit of mutual aid." Several days later, having safely returned from the 40-kilometre nocturnal forced march, they will have to demonstrate their "right to lead" and thus shed the corresponding "ribbon of shame." Another such ribbon will be unpinned after the "concert" has taken place on the square in front of the railway station in Fujinomiya. There the trainees, clad in businessmen's suits, must perform the "Salesman song" so distinctly and loudly that every word reaches the ears of the instructor 50 metres away. It is held that after taking this test in overcoming embarrassment the graduate will be in a position to address any audience on any subject. The trainee must also learn to conduct a business correspondence in the "correct" fashion, to take no more than 20 minutes to set out a concise well-worded account of negotiations with a client, and quickly learn by heart from five to ten pages of text, without necessarily understanding what it means. However, that is yet to come; now it is time to race towards the central building for the graduation ceremony of the previous class.

The lucky ones, who shed their "ribbons of shame" in time, entered the spacious hall. Placing their neatly folded uniforms before them, they squatted on the floor in the "self-contemplation" posture with legs crossed, the back as stiff as a ramrod and closed eyes. Seated at the back were those who had failed some of the tests, and who, perforce, had to spend another three "penalty" days at the school. Lined up in reverence in the corridor were the "recruits."

The ceremony began punctually, with the headmaster naming the six star graduates. Shouting "Aye, aye, Sir!" each graduate named ran out into the middle of the room, performed the "correct" bow, marched three steps forward, bowed once again, received a framed certificate, bowed, took three steps back, bowed again,

Getting the better of the competitor is also an art. Photo by author

then veered round and raced back to his place.

After supper the recruits were taken to the bathhouse where standing stark naked in front of the "Seven rules of correct bathing," hanging on the wall, they chanted, "Soap your head and sluice yourself with cold water five times before dipping in the common pool. Bathing should take no more than 25 minutes."

About half an hour later one of the school's "instructors" expounded to me the philosophy of "hell training." First he explained what the "hell" meant.

"At a cursory glance our school seems to have nothing at all reminiscent of hell with its cauldrons of pitch and boiling water for sinners. We have here pure air, fragrant with pine, a magnificent view of Mount Fuji, so dear to the heart of every true Japanese, and the spirit of genuine male friendship. Surely all this should be more reminiscent of paradise for clerks from stifling cities, dogtired after years of work without what you in the West call a 'holiday' and fed up with their colleagues and families. Nor are the instructors at all like devils. There is not a single ex-officer or policeman among them, while corporal punishment and other physical abuses are strictly prohibited. So why is it called 'hell training'? Because to awaken a person's hidden gifts, a truly hellish exertion of inner resources is called for. It is still harder to translate the released inner potential into reality, to remove the obstacles between words and actions. For that reason we shun protracted lecturing, graphs and charts. We prefer the shock technique. Thus, to shout "Good Morning!" a hundred times is a shock. To make a forced march at night across hilly roadless country is a shock. To write down ten sentences in a mere twenty seconds is also a shock. We must teach each executive how to speak, write, listen, telephone, bow and walk correctly.

"How can an executive require of subordinates that they carry out his orders correctly if he does not know how to obey properly himself? Formerly every male was put through the armed forces, but now young Japanese are forgetting the traditional rituals and rules of Japanese ethics. They work less well than their fathers and think not of their families and companies, but of their own pleasures and interests. This will inevitably affect, indeed has already affected, both big and small companies as well as Japan as a whole. 'Hell training' serves to rouse a person's hidden potential in the space of a fortnight, to inspire him to dedicate himself to his company, remind him of what it really means to be a true Japanese. Indeed, it necessitates the extraordinary exertion of physical and, especially, mental energy. Far from all pass the test. Some go to hospital, others run away. What happens to them? First they have to return to their companies the 300,000 yen school fee, after which as a rule they are discharged. Companies have no need for the weak; they need real warriors prepared to shed sweat, tears and even blood for the company's prosperity. Successful graduates are speedily promoted. After all, our trainees are mostly managerial executives from average and small companies, who are continually compelled to fight for their existence, as major clients dump all their troubles on them the moment the market situation takes the slightest turn for the worse."

The brief slumber is interrupted by the reveille. The time is only 4.30 a.m., and the snow cap of Mount Fuji, to be glimpsed beyond the trees, still glows pinkish in the rays of the rising sun. But the trainees are already rolling up their pallets and tidying the dormitory. Despite the biting wind, naked to the waist they rub themselves with dry towels in conformity with Samurai tradition, and march out to see the flag of the Land of the Rising Sun and the school banner ceremonially raised, after which they disperse in groups to their various classrooms to start their "hell training" before their first meal of the day.

Simultaneously thousands throughout Japan start identical or similar courses of "hell training." Upwards of 70,000 newly hired workers and employees are annually sent to the Self-Defence Forces where four days of training and forced marches are supposed to cleanse their minds of the "evils of the liberal schools" and enforce obedience. The entire country has heard of the Youth Training School near Isejingu, the nation's chief Shintoist temple in Mie Prefecture. Founded in 1941, when militarism and chauvinism were in full flower, this school continued after a brief interval to foster the traditions of the "good old days." According to the Japanese news media, its entire course of instruction is subordinate to cast-iron discipline and the cult of the emperor. This implies the steeling of the flesh in ice-cold water, the learning by rote of poems composed by the emperors, nocturnal vigils in Shinto shrines, and rituals of reverence for parents and company executives who command equal respect. Of this school's six million graduates most are traditionally employees of Hitachi and Sumitomo. In fact, every large company, every prosperous enterprise runs its own personnel training school or course.

Forced marches with shoulder-borne knapsacks stuffed with sand. Assault courses. Zen Buddhist "self-contemplation." Shinto immersion in ice-cold waterfalls. Daily lineups, rollcalls, and bows to the bosses before the workday begins. The chanting of the company anthem, the hoisting of the company banner, and the mandatory wearing of the company uniform and badge. All these and many other methods are part and parcel of the arsenal employed by Japanese businessmen who hold that the transformation of people into docile robots ready to accept any sacrifice for the sake of company interests is a crucial condition for business success.

But what if a person cracks in the face of this twofold exertion, this twofold exploitation? Then mental hospitals, now a prospering industry, to take over. Available to the redundant are numerous exotic crags, while for those living in cities, there are skyscrapers to ensure a speedy death.

Y. TAVROVSKY
Our Own Correspondent
Fujinomiya-Tokyo

The introduction of a state of emergency in South Africa on June 12 is a sign that the racist regime is in deep crisis. The popular struggle against white minority rule and the deep-seated processes at work in South African society are undermining the foundations of the apartheid regime.

Apartheid on the Skids

VLADIMIR IORDANSKY

The situation in South Africa remains extremely tense. Since September 1984 the country has seen mounting action against the racist regime and its policy of apartheid. So powerful is this mass protest movement that the government has had to introduce a state of emergency twice in the past twelve months—on July 20, 1985, and again on June 12 this year. South Africa is in effect on the brink of a civil war. Already law and order in many townships is being enforced by African organizations.

The country's rulers, clearly taken by surprise by these developments, are feverishly casting about for a way out, swinging from halfhearted reforms that do not affect the foundations of apartheid to broad crackdowns. The opponents of the regime, however, are not deceived by minor concessions, such as the lifting of the ban on mixed marriages. Nor are they to be intimidated by punitive measures. Confrontation between the liberation movement and the racist authorities is becoming ever more acute.

It would be fair to say that history has already pronounced its harsh verdict on the racist regime and that the question now is when it will be implemented. And there a great deal will depend on the processes at work in South African society and on changes in the internal political situation.

The White Community Divided

It is perhaps the first time that the 4.8 million white South Africans have become aware of a real challenge to their supremacy, their privileges and their arrogant claims to be the masters of the country. Only recently Daniel Malan, one of the architects of the policy of apartheid and a prominent government figure, said: "The last hundred years of our history attest to a miracle behind which a divine will can be discerned. Indeed, the history of Afrikanerdom reveals a will and determination that suggest that their power is not the work of human hands but a creation of God." Blind Calvinist faith in their divine mission and their exclusiveness still largely accounts for the intolerance, bigotry and intransigence of the white minority in the face of fast-changing reality. The miracle of which Daniel Malan spoke has not happened.

For a long time the white community revealed differences in culture and political views between the 2.9 million Afrikaners who speak Afrikaans, a dialect of Dutch, and the 1.9 million whites of British descent. There is ample evidence to show, however, that while previous differences in culture and belief persist, there has been a narrowing of the gap in the approach to the policy of apartheid. Most English-speaking whites vote for the Nationalist Party which was established by the Afrikaners and is first and foremost a vehicle for their interests.

This is not to suggest that there is no opposition to official racist policies in the white community. Last year's trip to Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, by a

Funeral in Alexandra township of another victim of racist terror. Order in the procession is maintained by people's marshalls.

group of prominent businessmen to meet leaders of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), which spearheads the liberation movement of the oppressed South African masses, had a tremendous nationwide impact. During the meeting the businessmen asked what the ANC's policy would be if it came to power. The approach in itself provoked fury among South Africa's rulers who hastened to condemn those involved in a venture that would have been unthinkable three or four years before.

There is also a vocal group of convinced and passionate white opponents of racism which includes prominent writers, lawyers, and doctors who command great moral authority. More and more of them, defying the threat of ostracism and reprisals, have in recent months taken part in demonstrations along with black Africans. Many of these white people are students.

It is also significant that more and more whites, no longer believing that the regime is stable, are scrambling to leave the country: in January this year the number of people who left South Africa for the first time exceeded the number of new immigrants. More than 20,000 people are expected to leave in the current year which is more than twice the number of new arrivals.

At the same time the influence of the extreme right has clearly been growing. During parliamentary by-elections held in five constituencies last October, extreme right-wing parties gained 20 per cent more votes than at previous elections. Terrorist bands of "vigilantes" springing up all over the country stage raids on African townships and murder their inhabitants. There has been a rise in the activity of the extremist paramilitary Afrikaner Resistance Movement which takes advantage of the difficulties of farmers who have lived through four years of drought in succession.

The swing to the right among the white minority is bound to influence the policy of the racist regime. Breyten Breytenbach, the Afrikaans anti-racist poet, notes in an article under the revealing title "The Civil War in South Africa Has Started" that one of the greatest changes in his country is increased militarization and the growing political influence of the military. The truth of this observation is borne out by Pretoria's acts of aggression against the independent neighbouring states of Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

On the domestic front, the authorities are committed to the use of the repressive machine and brute force. Yet even the diehards in Pretoria see that this line alone is incapable of stemming the protest movement of the oppressed majority. From the middle of 1984 moves have been made to eliminate some of the extremes of so-called "petty apartheid," i.e., norms of race relations in everyday life. In addition, under a constitutional change, which extended the President's powers, two new parliamentary chambers were set up to which deputies are elected by people of mixed and Asian origin.

On June 1 the government abolished passbooks which restricted the movements of black Africans and prevented them living where they choose. The racist propaganda media heralded this extremely limited step as a major democratic reform. The Group Areas Act, which divides towns and cities into racially segregated areas, has remained. Instead of the passbooks there will now be identity cards to be issued over the next ten years. Simultaneously, the powers of the police and other punitive bodies are being extended, which makes it clear that no real democratization of life in South Africa is envisaged.

Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, told a press conference in Paris that government in South Africa was "taking the form of armed occupation." Referring to Pretoria's recent reforms he said: "It's all too late... The only thing that is going to satisfy the people is the end of the apartheid system in all its ramifications."

Racist Strategy Fails

Current developments in South Africa show that the apartheid strategy developed by the country's rulers several decades ago has dismally failed. The aim of its architects was twofold: to prevent the unification of different ethnic groups of Africans and stop them developing a class consciousness. The strategy took care of every detail. Thus, Johannesburg's vast black township of Soweto—its population is about 2 million—is divided into separate quarters for the various peoples—Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho and others. Even primary schools are ethnically segregated. Every tribal group has its own barracks in the town's workers' hostels.

The racist principle of ethnic segregation, to be sure, is not always implemented consistently. According to the logic of apartheid, every bantustan, which is actually a reservation, should be inhabited by one ethnic group. In reality, Transkei has many Sotho villages, along with Xhosa villages, Bophuthatswana has, in addition to Tswana, many Xhosa, and in Kwazulu, there are Pondo villages (the Pondos are a branch of the Xhosa people) next to Zulu villages. These "departures" from apartheid are deliberate as they help the authorities to foment ethnic fricion. "The tension between tribes and different racial groups is accentuated if not entirely provoked by the apartheid system," a South African journalist recently wrote in the Paris weekly Le Monde Diplomatique.

Today, 13.4 million* of the 24 million Africans inhabiting South Africa live in the bantustans, which occupy a mere 13 per cent of the national territory.

This is how the police keep "order" in Capetown.

From Stern (F.R.G.)

Africans in the bantustans are condemned to a miserable existence. And yet Pretoria did not expect them to become seats of discontentment that could make the situation explosive. The authorities assumed that the inhabitants of the bantustans, crushed by poverty, uneducated and ethnically disunited, would not be able to pose a serious challenge to the white supremacist minority. All the more so as the racists

* The figure is approximate because in search of work the inhabitants of the bantustans leave them temporarily or for good.

sought to check the development of social relations there and perpetuate antiquated tribal patterns.

All told, about 13 million blacks and 2.8 million coloureds live in white zones outside the bantustans. The aim of the body of laws regulating black residence in these areas is to prevent Africans from taking root there. Why? Because the racists are afraid that social groups will be formed amongst the Africans to provide a focus for liberation sentiments, unite and lead the oppressed people.

This plan, however, did not work. The authorities have failed to prevent workers who get temporary employment in the cities and are constantly thrown back into the countryside from forming a stable proletariat. Against all the odds, an African intelligentsia has also formed in the country. The racists have failed to stop the spread of education in the African community where the number of secondary school students has increased from 123,000 to 615,000 in the past 15 years. The number of Africans in managerial and professional (lawyers, doctors, teachers) jobs has doubled since 1970.

The plight of Africans living in white areas remains grave. According to available data, 3 million out of a potential work force of 6 million are jobless. For example, in the industrial area of Port Elizabeth unemployment stood at 58 per cent in 1985. Even so, the African proletariat has managed to secure some improvement in its position by means of an intense and bitter struggle. While in 1972 a white miner earned 18 times more than a black one, today he earns only four times more. In the 1970s, the average wages of Africans, excepting those living in the bantustans and engaged in farming, rose by 63 per cent and continued to grow until crisis hit South Africa's economy.

Popular Upsurge

If the blueprint of an apartheid state produced in the early 1960s had worked South Africa today would consist of white towns and farms serviced by the population of the bantustans, "black hewers of wood and drawers of water." But the racist pipedream was shattered by reality. For several years South Africa's rulers have been feverishly looking for an alternative to apartheid which would enable the whites to remain in the saddle and keep their privileges by making minor concessions to the downtrodden majority.

The search for such an alternative assumed particular urgency for the racist regime after the health and social security authority published the results of a demographic survey in 1984. It revealed that the birth rate in white families has fallen below the level necessary to maintain the present population of European origin. By contrast, the birth rate among Africans remains very high. Projections made on the basis of the survey put the South African population at 81 million in 2020 and, if the present trend continues, the ratio between blacks and whites will be highly unfavourable to the ruling minority.

The local press has referred to a "demographic time bomb." How to prevent it exploding? Population experts have told the authorities that the birth rate in African families living in cities is going down dramatically, while a government minister has declared that urbanization of Africans must be a major element in the government's new social strategy.

Anti-racist forces whose rise the South African authorities have tried to prevent are increasingly active in the country. The United Democratic Front (UDF) set up in August 1983 has brought together some 700 public unions and associations—religious, cultural, youth, etc. and has gained an enormous following (almost two million) with astonishing speed.

A historic milestone was the formation, in December 1985, of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) which has a membership of about 500,000. It seeks to unite the whole African proletariat.

The regime does not see a political solution to the situation, and this is small wonder since the racists have very little room for manoeuvre. Their answer to the mounting democratic movement is a wave of repression: thousands of freedom fighters have been arrested and jailed. Since September 1984, some 2,000 people have been killed. The authorities use collaborationists to provoke ethnic clashes. As a counterweight to the COSATU, a "yellow" trade union has been formed from among the Zulus, of whom there are about six million.

The policy has not been without success, adding to the trials and tribulations that fall to the lot of the Africans. For all that, the popular movement against apartheid is gathering momentum. The outlawed African National Congress has again proved that it is the political leader of the fighting millions. Called by it, a national strike on June 16 defied the state of emergency to mark the tenth anniversary of the massacre of school students in the township of Soweto. For a whole day the country's economy was brought to a standstill.

With the racist regime in deep crisis, external political factors assume special importance. The ANC, UDF and COSATU, speaking on behalf of a people in revolt, are demanding international sanctions against the racist ruling clique in South Africa. The U.S., Britain and some other Western countries, however, oppose the measure. They say that they would hate to impinge upon the interests of the common Africans. A touching show of concern indeed! Meanwhile the U.S. prefers to keep silent about the fact that its investments in South Africa amount to some $14,000 million and its trade with her reached $3,500 million in 1985. South Africa's debt to the West stands at almost $24,000 million. Could this be the main reason why Washington and London stubbornly refuse to impose economic sanctions against the racists?

The present time, with its spate of reprisals and countless victims, may appear to some to be a tragic period in South Africa's history. That, however, is a one-sided view. One cannot fail to be aware of the new mood of the South African people who have risen in revolt. Their sense of national identity is growing rapidly and the process of political emancipation is proceeding apace.

Elijah Barayi, President of COSATU, asked by a foreign journalist how much longer the present South African government would hold out, replied:

"It's a difficult question, but I believe it's three to four years and the South African government is going to collapse."

Millions of South Africans share his optimism. ■

TAKING UP A POINT

The U.S. Congress has condemned the Administration's decision to scrap the SALT-2 treaty. Why don't Soviet MPs call on their government to refrain from violating it! In this case the treaty could possibly be salvaged. I have my doubts, however, as to whether your legislators are capable of such action.

Daniel WINTER
West Berlin

Our Associate Editor SERGEI GOLYAKOV replies:

It will probably please you to know that you are not alone in entertaining such doubts. Addressing high school leavers in Glassboro, New Jersey, recently, President Reagan spoke in the same vein. He told his young listeners that "the peoples in the Soviet Union have virtually no influence on the government."

Although you have found yourself in such distinguished company, the truth does not support you. Soviet MPs have given the issue you mention a thorough discussion—the likelihood of which you deny so emphatically—and adopted an appropriate resolution.

The discussion which I happened to attend along with other journalists invited was held in the Kremlin on June 20 at a joint meeting of the foreign affairs committees of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. In our parliament these committees deal with problems of the Soviet state's foreign policy. Their competence in international affairs cannot be overestimated.

What brought the MPs together at a long rectangular table in a hall in the Kremlin was their concern over the developments involving the Soviet-American strategic arms limitation treaties. This concern grew after President Reagan had announced the United States would no longer abide by the said treaties. It was found necessary, I quote, "to give a most thorough consideration to the entire complex of problems arising in this connection and draw practical conclusions."

The discussion, the very possibility of which seems incredible to you, proceeded in a calm businesslike atmosphere. The first item on the agenda was the role of the SALT-1 and SALT-2 treaties as barriers in the way of the nuclear missile race. The participants in the discussion—both MPs and experts—spoke on the subject of whether these treaties still help restrain arms buildup, or whether, as Washington claims, they are outdated and must therefore be abandoned. Their common conclusion was that under the present circumstances the Soviet-American strategic arms limitation treaties had only gained in importance; that their observance was of prime importance for maintaining strategic parity; and that without them it would be impossible to provide conditions favourable for reaching new agreements anywhere, the nuclear and space arms talks in Geneva included. Consequently, it was necessary to preserve what had been achieved the hard way, with great effort.

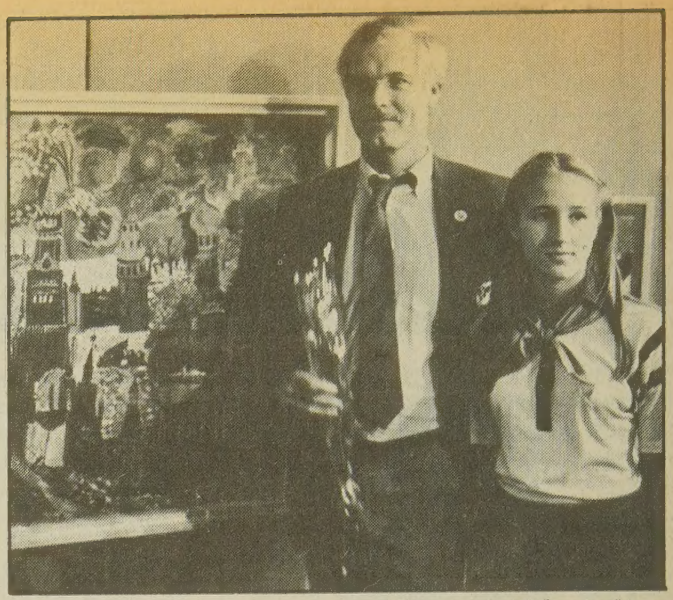
Is it not only too obvious that such a standpoint refutes in itself the assertion that the Soviet side violates the treaties? Nevertheless, we are accused of doing so. Your letter implies that violations have been proved. But have they? This was also a subject of thorough discussion at the meeting. Reports by representatives of the interested parties, so to speak—the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were heard out first of all. Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the U.S.S.R. armed forces, told the MPs that such accusations were completely groundless. The United States is advancing them against us in an attempt to justify its own violations of the treaties. The so-called "comprehensive strategic programme" adopted by the United States in 1981 contradicts the SALT-2 treaty. The Soviet Union, the marshal said, strictly abides by its commitments. We do not only take measures which rule out even unpremeditated deviations from the provisions of the treaties, but have repeatedly voiced our readiness to provide whatever explanations the American side might require.

Yuli Vorontsov, First Deputy Foreign Minister, also disproved the accusations levelled at our country. However, the MPs were not content with that. They deemed it necessary to conduct their own investigation of the matter. A special group was formed for the purpose, whose findings were reported to the session by its head, Georgi Korniyenko, a member of the foreign affairs committee of the Soviet of the Union. The group had checked on how the appropriate Soviet ministries and departments supervised the observance of the Soviet-American strategic arms limitation treaties. Its conclusion was that the Soviet Union fulfilled its commitments under the SALT-1 and SALT-2 treaties and did nothing that would run counter to their provisions.

The joint meeting of the foreign affairs committees of both chambers of the Soviet parliament adopted a special resolution which appeared in the foreign language editions of New Times. You will find it worthwhile to acquaint yourself with this document, all the more so as it does exactly what you have suggested Soviet MPs should do: draws the attention of all Soviet ministries and departments concerned to the importance of continuing scrupulously to comply with the provisions, still in force, of the Soviet-American agreements with regard to limiting strategic arms as long as the U.S. side also complies with them. Excuse the long phrase, but this is how the Soviet MPs put it. And they didn't merely declare a good intention. They made it law. ■

From Friendship in Sports to Peace on Earth

In this Ted Turner, President of the American TBS television company, sees the paramount significance of the Goodwill Games.



Ted Turner at the international exhibition of children's drawings "Sport, Children, Peace" in Moscow.

TASS photo

Over the last ten years or so sport has time and again collided with politics. Will politics continue to interfere with sport? Undoubtedly, yes, whether we like it or not. This is because in today's complex and intricate world literally everything hinges on the state of political relations between different countries. The 1980 and 1984 Olympic Games furnish conclusive and apposite instances, and the Pentagon ban on the participation of eleven members of the U.S. boxing team in the Moscow Goodwill Games — on the pretext that they represent the U.S. Armed Forces — only provides fresh confirmation.

Perhaps the time is now ripe for sport to interfere in politics. Indeed, in ancient Greece wars always stopped when the Olympic Games began. Perhaps, for 3,000 or so athletes from almost 70 countries, and the 900 newsmen accredited to the Goodwill Games, the prevailing atmosphere of fair and honest sporting competition and the cheers of the thousands of tourists who have come to support their athletes are also politics, the politics of good will?

When I put that semi-rhetorical question to 47-year-old Ted Turner, the Atlanta owner of the TBS company, who sponsored the Goodwill Games from the American side, he simply answered "yes." The world, he said, is too small, too full of weapons and in too much danger for us to sever such international contacts as sport contests. He said he thought wars were due, apart from anything else, to a lack of understanding and confidence. But how could there be confidence if people no longer met, he asked. He mentioned that his father, for one, had never wanted to meet Russians and had always said that he did not like Reds. It was only after he grew up, Mr Turner smilingly observed, that he had realized that from the human point of view the Russians were much like the Americans. He said that as a sportsman in the past he had been to competitions in many countries where he had always made friends. Incidentally, he skippered the yacht Courageous which won the prestigious America's Cup.

When I asked him what had given him the idea of the Goodwill Games, he said that he had felt worried when the U.S. had declined to take part in the Moscow Olympics; and at the volleyball finals in Los Angeles four years later he had thought it was not the real thing as the best team, the Russians, did not take part. He added that 1986 was an unhappy jubilee, ten years since Soviet and U.S. athletes had last competed in an international contest. After the Los Angeles volleyball finals he had decided to initiate talks with people involved in sport in the Soviet Union with the result that last August 6 he signed with them the agreement to hold the Goodwill Games.

I next asked Mr Turner how his compatriots had received the idea. He said there had been no official response at all from Washington, which seemed to have ignored the whole affair. On the other hand, he stressed, the public was interested and enthusiastic. TBS publicized the Games to enable as many Americans as possible to get to know about them, while some 85 per cent of American TV audiences would be able to watch them.

When I wondered whether the Goodwill Games would become a regular event, Mr Turner replied that it had been agreed to hold the next Goodwill Games in Seattle in 1990. A delegation from that city had already arrived in Moscow to gain experience. About 500 American athletes are expected to participate, some 200 newsmen to cover the Games, and two thousand tourists to come in from the U.S.

Mr Turner said he thought the preparations made for the Games in Moscow had been simply fantastic. Though many had been sceptical, the organizers had done a tremendous stint within a short space of time. As far as the opening was concerned, Mr Turner stressed there were no English words that fully conveyed the magnificence.

Asked what he expected of the Games apart from sporting prowess, he said he very much hoped they would help improve Soviet-American relations. He said it was symbolic that 1986 as the Year of Peace had become the year of the first Goodwill Games. The slogan "From friendship in sports to peace in the world" was very meaningful, he said.

One must emphasize that the idea of the Goodwill Games is not Mr Turner's only manifestation of good will. He heads the influential public Better World Society, of which prominent politicians and civic leaders from many countries are members. They all share a common objective, which is to find ways and means of achieving nuclear disarmament.

Perhaps it will be the good fortune of Ted Turner's son, who is also here in Moscow as a budding journalist, to live in this "Better World." At any rate, for the time being, he clicks his camera endlessly to catch every highlight of the first Goodwill Games.

G. SIDOROVA

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